

## Spanish Books in the Europe of the Enlightenment (Paris and London)

# Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 64

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# Spanish Books in the Europe of the Enlightenment (Paris and London)

*A View from Abroad*

*By*

Nicolás Bas Martín

*Translated by*

Andy Birch



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Spanish books from the bookshop of S. Baker, auctioned in 1776.

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*"All of them – he, don Francisco de Quevedo, Velázquez, Captain Alatrisme, the miserable and magnificent epoch I knew – all are gone now. But in libraries, in books, on canvases, in churches, in palaces, streets, and plazas, those men left an indelible mark that lives on. The memory of Lope's hand will disappear with me when I die, as will Velázquez's Andalusian accent, the sound of don Francisco's golden spurs jingling as he limped along, the serene grey-green gaze of Captain Alatrisme. Yet the echoes of their singular lives will resound as long as that many-faceted country, that mix of towns, tongues, histories, bloods, and betrayed dreams exists: that marvellous and tragic stage we call Spain"*

*Arturo and Carlota Pérez Reverte, Captain Alatrisme  
Translated by Margaret Sayers Peden  
Penguin, USA, 2006*





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## Foreword

Let us start with definitions. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “Hispanist” as “one versed in, or devoted to, the Spanish language or the study of Spanish”, first documented as late as 1934, in the American *Webster’s Dictionary*. For the Académie Française “hispanisme” appears in the eighteenth century as “tour-nure propre à la langue espagnole”; as in English, “hispaniste/hispanisant” is an invention of the twentieth century.

But words can be deceptive. If we understand Hispanism as an exclusive or professional interest in things Spanish, then the concept is probably one of the nineteenth century, probably contemporary with the establishment of the teaching and study of modern languages in the new University of London in the 1820s. If however, we take Hispanism to mean a concern with things Spanish in the context of a broader range of interests, it is to be found among the scholars of the seventeenth century. And a Hispanist need not be a scholar but must be a reader.

Nicolás Bas’ book focuses on the interest which English and Frenchmen of the Enlightenment took in the language, history and culture of Spain. Both England and France were conversant with some very negative ideas about Spain. The Black Legend, dating back to the sixteenth century, condemned Spain as repressive and priest-ridden. Comparable to this was the view expressed by Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* of 1782 that Spain suffered from bad science and feudal institutions.

Bas shows however, that an alternative, more sympathetic, vision ran parallel with these negative views. His evidence is the presence of books from Spain, or in Spanish (many were printed abroad, especially in the Netherlands), or translated from Spanish, or about Spain (principally travellers’ accounts) in France and England.

His material has been scoured from an exhaustive interrogation of the records of the book trade. While some foreigners bought their books while travelling in Spain and others acquired them through personal contacts, most readers first became aware of relevant publications and then acquired them via the catalogues of the offerings of booksellers. For this study Bas has laid under contribution fifty-eight catalogues issued by London dealers – booksellers and auctioneers – and nineteen from Paris. For France another rich source is the proceedings of the Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie, charged with the surveillance of new publications. Rarely have these sources been searched for Spanish books, and never have they been as exhaustively exploited as they are in Bas’ book.

The author reveals a remarkable consistency between the French and the English. In the earlier part of the period studied here interest was focused on the Golden Age. It is interesting that although in the latter part of the eighteenth century Spanish thinkers themselves such as Cadalso came to distinguish between the “true” Golden Age of the sixteenth century and the decadent Baroque, these connoisseurs and traders in Spanish literature did not discriminate between the creations of the sixteenth century and those of the seventeenth.<sup>1</sup>

As Bas recognises, Spanish books were always a minority in the foreign book trade and no bookseller dealt exclusively in Spanish. The products of the Enlightenment in Spain do make a showing in the reading cultures of France and England, but these are a minority within a minority.

Chief among the Spanish authors in these catalogues is, unsurprisingly, Cervantes, almost always represented by *Don Quixote*. Other authors who appear frequently but are less remembered today are Juan de Mariana (principally his *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*) and the lexicographer Francisco Sobrino (his *Nouvelle grammaire espagnole* of 1697 and *Diccionario* of 1705).

In this context of the veneration for the Golden Age it is interesting to read Mayans to Lord Carteret:

Your Excellency writes the Spanish language with such purity and perfection as if you had been born in Spain and were writing a century ago, when it flourished.<sup>2</sup>

The *arbiter elegantiarum* of Enlightenment England, Samuel Johnson, was an express admirer of Cervantes. As he commented to Mrs Thrale:

Alas, Madam! said he one day, “how few books are there of which one can ever possibly arrive at the last page! Was there ever yet any thing written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers, excepting *Don Quixote*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and the *Pilgrim’s Progress*?” After Homer’s *Iliad*, Mr. Johnson confessed that the work of Cervantes was the greatest in the world, speaking of it I mean as a book of entertainment.<sup>3</sup>

1 Nicolás Marín, “Decadencia y Siglo de Oro”, 1616, 5 (1983–84), pp. 69–79.

2 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, ed. Antonio Mestre (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1972), p. xlvii: “U. Ex. escribe la lengua castellana con tanta pureza i perfección como si huviesse nacido en España i escribiesse un siglo antes, quando ella floreció”.

3 Johnsoniana, in *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. [...] by James Boswell [...] with numerous additions and notes by the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker M.P., to which are added two supplementary volumes of Johnsoniana*, 10 vols (London, John Murray), x (1845), p. 102.

The importance of London in Spanish book culture is for me exemplified by an anecdote – more likely true than false – told by Tomás Antonio Sánchez in 1790:

Don Gabriel de Sancha [the printer], whose expertise in books, both externally and internally, is well known, has assured me that the late year of 1786 he saw in London in the hands of the bookseller Huith [*sic*] the works of our Archpriest [the *Libro de buen amor*, written in the fourteenth century], printed in an octavo volume in Tortis [gothic] letter.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, if we may believe this story, a Spanish printer encountered the *princeps* (now lost) of a mediaeval Spanish classic on the premises of a London dealer.

The Spanish books which circulated in the two cities have long lain hidden in plain sight in the records of booksellers. The achievement of Nicolás Bas has been to exploit more than any other scholar these materials, and clarify for us the understanding of Spain – its history, literature and language – which French and Englishmen gained from their reading.

*Barry Taylor*

British Library. Curator, Hispanic Collections

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4 T. Antonio Sánchez, *Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo xv*, iv (Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1790), p. xxii: “Don Gabriel de Sancha, cuyo manejo en libros, tanto por fuera, como por dentro es bien conocido, me ha asegurado que el año pasado 86 vio en Londres en poder del librero Huith las obras de nuestro Arcipreste, impresas en un tomo en 8. letra de Tortis”; cited and evaluated by Alan Deyermond, *The “Libro de buen amor” in England: A Tribute to Gerald Gybbon-Monypenny* (Manchester, Manchester Spanish & Portuguese Studies, 2004), p. 14.

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# List of Abbreviations

ARJB	Madrid, Archivo Real Jardín Botánico
BLARS	Bedfordshire & Luton Archives and Records Service
BNE	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BL	London, British Library
BV	Biblioteca Valenciana
CHA	Christie's Historical Archive
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue

# Introduction

“No nation can consider itself if it has no others from which to draw comparisons”. These accurate words of Lévi-Strauss let us focus on the object of this project: to ascertain the “image” of Spain through the Spanish publications that were sold in the bookshops of Paris and London, which were then Europe’s two main cities, in the eighteenth century.

The mere mention of the eighteenth century quickly brings to mind concepts such as “modernity” and “reason”; both were coined to refer in particular to France, which mirrored these terms at that time, thanks to episodes such as that of the *Encyclopédie* or the intense cultural life and publishing activity created by the *philosophes*. This was a reality that transcended the frontiers of France. Indeed not only Europe spoke French, but also Russia and America, both of which sent their best individuals to France.<sup>1</sup> But what was the image of Spain? The *grosso modo* vision of the country beyond the Pyrenees did not arouse too much sympathy. France, despite sharing the same royal dynasty, continued to maintain a quite negative impression of its southern neighbour as a result of historical prejudices and the derogatory comments of its *philosophes*. This attitude reinforced France’s self-affirmation as a superior nation. Criticism of what was negative (i.e. Spain) gives a good portrayal of the objectives of modernity (i.e. France).<sup>2</sup>

For its part, England – and then Britain – saw Spain above all as a potential geo-strategic enemy, as a result of the many battles fought between them both on land and at sea.<sup>3</sup> The British also continued to regard Spain, from a cultural point of view, as a backward country anchored in its traditions, and therefore less attractive as a breeding ground for its select aristocracy. This was in addition to the linguistic aspect, given the limited knowledge of the Castilian language in the English-speaking countries.

This was the image of Spain disseminated in both countries by various printed and oral means. Save for a few exceptions, the image of Spain was characterised more by its darker aspects than by any likely to provide illumination. Not only foreigners were guilty in this respect, but also the Spanish themselves.

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1 Marc Fumaroli, *Cuando Europa hablaba francés. Extranjeros francófilos en el Siglo de las Luces* (Barcelona, Acanalado, 2015), pp. 22–23.

2 Christine Matthey, “L’Ombre et les Lumières. Une vision française de l’Espagne au 18e siècle”, *Dix-huitième siècle*, 40 (2008/1), p. 427.

3 Frank O’Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century. British Political and Social History 1688–1832* (London, Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 60.

Responsibility for creating the clichés and stereotypes concerned was shared equally by other lands and Spain itself, which lacked – in our case – the added internationalisation that a greater presence in the European book trade might have entailed, by way of the country's printers, publishers and booksellers. This made Spain less visible, thereby diminishing the pan-European respect shown to it.

The question is simple: Why were Paris and London the cities most likely to attract the European intellectuals of the eighteenth century? Why should these two cities become such destinations of desire for key figures of the Spanish Enlightenment – both at a personal level and in terms of the development of their country? Why also, on the other hand, should foreigners regard Spain only as a place of passage, rather than as a country in which to enrich one's education? These questions are difficult to answer at this remove, but we will try to do so by analysing the presence of Spanish books in the literary world of eighteenth-century Europe.

Spain needed Europe more than Europe needed it. This was not a phenomenon that arose *ex nihilo*, but rather the result of long centuries of tradition. Spain and its empire, which had been the object of envy and resentment throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had now come to be regarded, by the mid eighteenth century, as a mere infant of a country; a nation of *chiaroscuro* with no deep traditions to leave behind as it drifted away from modern Europe.<sup>4</sup> None of this manages to detract from the fact that Spain was trying to deal with its marginalisation from the Europe of the Enlightenment, with radical reforms that were applied particularly in the last third of the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> These reforms, which were concerned mainly with the economy, social life, popular customs, and the law, attempted to give Spain the position that it deserved, far from the “dark side of Europe” where many had wished to place it.<sup>6</sup> Something quite different, echoed by the booksellers concerned, is the fact that news of some of these reforms definitely did reach the ears of other Europeans.

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4 Fermín Del Pino Díaz, “El Siglo de Oro español contra la Ilustración francesa, o la barbarie replicada”, in Jesús González Fisac (ed.), *Barbarie y civilización. XVI Encuentro de la Ilustración al Romanticismo: Cádiz, América y Europa ante la modernidad, 1750–1850* (Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 2015), pp. 145–162.

5 María José Villaverde Rico and Francisco Castilla Urbano, “La Leyenda Negra: existencia, origen, recepción y reacciones”, in María José Villaverde Rico and Francisco Castilla Urbano (dir.), *La sombra de la Leyenda Negra* (Madrid, Tecnos, 2016), p. 27.

6 Jesús Astigarraga (ed.), *The Spanish Enlightenment revisited* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2015), p. 17.

What is true is that the feeling of inferiority was on occasions experienced with anguish and despair by certain intellectuals. The most committed of the latter saw Europe as an escape valve, as in the case of Manuel Martí, deacon of Alicante, who ended up selling the extraordinary and previously unpublished contents of his library to an English bookseller. The Spanish government, for its part, operated a propaganda machine that generated all manner of reactions, ferocious attacks and groundless arguments in its attempts to position the country favourably. Most of its responses were however late overreactions. Spain continued to suffer from hindrances which were, in the eyes of other Europeans, evidence of its backwardness and ignorance. A situation that defied solutions based on invective cried out for profound structural changes.

Up until now, this vision of Spain had been obtained mainly from conventional printed texts (i.e. published books and periodicals), along with written correspondence. This general exercise in comparative literature is now complemented by a work of comparative bibliography. The object of the exercise is to examine the world of publishing, bookshops, private and public libraries, book sales and auctions, circulating libraries and coffee houses. The idea is to let the books “speak” for themselves, with a view of what the streets of Paris and London had to say about their respective citizens’ image of Spain. It is for this reason better to consider the windows of the bookshops concerned as a reliable mirror of the literary tastes of the age, in an effort to ascertain who the favourite authors were, which genres were the most widely read, what the best-sellers of the day were and, on the other hand, if readers preferred their Spanish books as full-sized tomes or pocket editions, along with other considerations.

We nevertheless need to consider, before starting on an analysis of the printed book, the initial manifestations of Spanish literature in both countries, in the form of manuscripts. In this way, requests for licences to print, denials of privileges, or the indexed manuscripts of libraries, among other sources, will help us to trace the initial sightings of Spanish culture in Paris and London.

An intimate knowledge of the Spanish publications being sold in both cities during the eighteenth century should definitely help us to understand the prejudices, and to some extent the clichéd impressions, regarding Spain that were held in that period. It is for this and other reasons that we let inert objects like books “speak”, with specific reference to the Spanish publications that were imported, bought, sold and ultimately read in the top two urban areas of the Europe of that time. This comparison is vital when it comes to getting closer to what actually occurred, and understanding how reading about Spain was like taking a journey to the ends of the earth. It was no accident that Voltaire saw Spain as a country of which as little was known as the wildest areas of Africa,

because knowing it was not worthwhile.<sup>7</sup> These are words of enormous significance, which were in no way reflected in Spanish considerations of countries such as France and Britain. So why was this so in Spain?

It is true that “France the intermediary” did much damage to perceptions of Spain elsewhere in Europe, but it is no less true that many of the diatribes involved were based on reality. Few approaches could therefore be better than one which involves comparing outside opinions with an analysis of the books that others were actually reading about Spain. This leads us to the booksellers who are the protagonists of our story, as the actual transmitters of Spanish culture via their shops and market stalls, their selection of works on behalf of their customers and their supervision of public sales and auctions, along with those who travelled in search of new books to sell. The British or French bookseller therefore emerges as the most reliable intermediary when it comes to ascertaining the concept of Spain that was held by those outside the country.

Alongside bookshops and booksellers, the sales and auctions of books that were so in vogue in Paris and London in the eighteenth century inevitably have to be considered, as they were the sites of some of the most important transactions involving Spanish publications. It was no accident that Europe came to be flooded with books in the wake of such events as the French Revolution, which opened up the market to an almost infinite number of books that had once been the preserve of members of the nobility and clergy. Something similar occurred in London, where liberal professionals and aristocrats found, in the city’s booksellers and auctioneers, an ideal ally for the sale of their collections. This lucrative business gave rise to such important auction houses as Christie’s and Sotheby’s, which came to constitute a key expression of cultured society.

Indeed it is thanks to them that many extraordinary private libraries were created in both France and Britain. Some of these collections then went on to enrich the stocks of the French National Library and British Library respectively. The tracking-down of Spanish publications in these collections is essential when it comes to ascertaining the tastes of collectors and the specific proportion accounted for by their Spanish books.

Booksellers and collectors alike used the periodicals of the day to keep themselves up-to-date regarding what was being published in Europe. Consultation of the main communications media of the period is therefore likewise vital for complementing the vision of Spain that was then prevalent. The way

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7 Emilio Soler, Estudio introductorio in Jean-François Bourgoing, *Imagen de la moderna España* (Alicante, Universidad de Alicante, 2012), p. 15.

in which Spanish publications were advertised in the press is fundamental to understanding both what was publicised and what has since been “forgotten”.

A more indirect source is provided by correspondence, which became – in the eighteenth century – the main vehicle of communication of the continent’s literary men and women. This still supplies references to Spanish publications, authors and the most significant works of the day. The above sources are complemented by other reference tools such as bookplates, owners’ marks, types of bookbinding and bibliographies; all of which help create a panoramic view of how Spain was regarded in the Paris and London of the 1700s.

This was a view in which a single book, *Don Quixote*, most likely eclipsed all other Spanish literary works. Booksellers were never far-removed from the situation, as their shops were important for echoing the public opinions of the day; to an extent that in some cases, such as in Paris, they helped to encourage the centuries-old debate between followers of older and more modern ideas.

Furthermore, if it is important to know who was reading and what was being read, it is no less important to identify the routes followed by Spanish books on their way to Paris and London. The circuits so used employed intermediaries and agents based in various European countries, particularly France and the Netherlands. Throughout this time, and in both of the capital cities concerned, booksellers undoubtedly showed an international approach when it came to being up-to-date with the latest key publications.

It is for all these reasons that this project relies so heavily, for its sources of reference, on the catalogues of the booksellers of eighteenth-century Paris and London, many of which can still be found in the French National Library and the British Library respectively. A group of ten French booksellers, whose activities are highlighted by the magnificent work *Catalogues des libraires 1473–1810*, by Claire Lesage, Ève Netchine, and Veronique Sarrazin, gives us an insight into the world of the professionals most closely concerned with publications from Spain. These contemporaneous printed sources are complemented, along with other items, by the written applications submitted to the Chamber of French Booksellers for the obtaining of the corresponding permits, which can still be consulted in the Manuscripts Department of the French National Library. The archives also house bibliographies and periodicals from the eighteenth century, along with auction catalogues, both antique and more recent, of Sotheby’s, Drouot, and Pierre Bergé & Associés of Paris, among others. Much of this is thanks to the invaluable supervision of Sabine Juratic, *Chargée de Recherche* of the CNRS-ENS, along with Frédéric Barbier, *Directeur de Recherche* at the CNRS, who invited us to carry out this research work during the 2012 academic year.

In the same manner, and in the case of London, the Queen Mary University of London rendered its assistance during the 2014 and 2015 academic

years thanks to the coordination provided by Professors Colin Jones and Mark Curran. The British library has been the main centre of consultation and research, thanks especially to its magnificent collection of Spanish book catalogues, numbering more than 60 and corresponding to some 25 booksellers originally based in London. These sources have been complemented by the catalogues of private libraries, bibliographies and periodicals, and by more recent sources such as those available for consultation in the Rare Books Room. These printed sources are further expanded by manuscripts held in the collection started by Hans Sloane, one of eighteenth-century England's leading bibliophiles. Other manuscripts consulted include letters held in the files of the Bedfordshire & Luton Archives and Records Service. These documents are further enhanced by information obtained from the archives of Christie's auction house, along with the Sotheby's catalogues held by the Victoria and Albert Museum, which has been of enormous help when it came to finding out about the first book auctions held in London. We should likewise not forget the current catalogues of bookshops and auction houses such as Bonhams, Dreweatts & Bloomsbury Auctions, Bernard Quaritch, Maggs Bros, Peter Harrington, and Shapero Rare Books, among others.

I do not intend to forget any of the people who have in some way made this project possible, and to whom I am deeply grateful. Their advice, corrections and informal chats over coffee have greatly enriched the research involved. Those worthy of mention include Barry Taylor, the curator in charge of the British Library's Hispanic Collections, who has provided me with uniquely invaluable guidance to its rich bibliographic resources, and with whom I had the pleasure of coordinating the one-day event on *The Spanish Book in London during the 16th to 19th Centuries* held at the British Library on 13 May 2016. His works on Spanish books and his deep knowledge of the subject have likewise proved to be invaluable. In the same manner, Kristian Jensen, Director of the Department of Conservation and Collections at the British Library and his knowledge of the world of rare books and incunables of the eighteenth century have likewise provided invaluable assistance. I would also like to thank Giles Mandelbrote, librarian and archivist of the library at Lambeth Palace in London, who took the trouble to meet me and give me valuable advice regarding the world of London's book sales and auctions. Similar cooperation was provided by Margaret Ford, Director of the Department of Books and Manuscripts at Christie's in London, who did not hesitate to give me access to the archives of the famous auction house or place herself at my full disposal to assist me in my work. Similar thanks are due to Anne Heilbronn, Director of the Department of Books and Manuscripts at Sotheby's in Paris.



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# Books that “Speak”: The Traces of Spain in the Catalogues of Parisian Booksellers of the Eighteenth Century

## Introduction

L'Espagne et la France ressemblent à l'eau et à l'huile qui ne peuvent former une substance homogène qu' à la condition d'être bien agitées mais qui reprennent leur état primitif dès qu'on cesse le faire. Avec toutes les autres nations du monde nous serions comme de l'eau avec du vin, ou avec du vinaigre ou avec du jus de citron ou avec du jus d'orange, mais le français comme l'huile plus légère veut toujours être au-dessus et nous avoir en-dessous.<sup>1</sup>

LETTRE DU COMTE D'ARANDA, Ambassadeur d'Espagne à Paris. 27 juillet 1784.

On 11 July 1784 the Marquis of Pelleport was brought to the fearsome prison of the Bastille, accused of libel and conspiracy. He was to pass almost five years of his life there, very close to the cell occupied by the libertine Marquis de Sade. Pelleport passed the time by writing a book, *The Bohemians*, which would be published in two volumes, anonymously and virtually unnoticed, a few years later in 1790. The saturation of public opinion and of French publishing in general by writings, pamphlets and leaflets of this type, produced by salaried hack writers, explains why the work failed to attract any attention. It has taken time to rediscover this work, which carries us off into the world of the starving poets, literary adventurers, would-be philosophers and artistic dandies of Grub Street, and which holds its own with the best writings of Théveneau de Morande, Brissot, Pidansat de Mairobert, Mercier and others.

Indeed Pelleport curiously seems to have found inspiration, from his dingy Parisian incarceration, in the Spanish masterpiece *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, regarding which his own work contains abundant notes and references. The noble French writer provides an explanation for this, by recounting how – as

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1 “Spain and France are like oil and water, in that they cannot form a homogeneous substance unless they are shaken well, and then return to their natural state once one ceases to do so. When it comes to all the other nations of the world, we are as water is to wine, vinegar, or lemon or orange juice, but the French always want to be lighter, like oil, with us below”.

a small child in the family home – the maid would read novels, particularly *Don Quixote*, out loud. This, indicates Pelleport, was his ruin. From then on, he learnt passages of Cervantes' works by heart, and the book about the man from La Mancha became his main source of reference.<sup>2</sup>

This fact raises several points. We have on the one hand the image of Cervantes' book becoming, for certain French families, a source of daily readings similar to that of the Bible for Protestants. But these readings also turned into an evocation of a comforting past that Pelleport would soon abandon for a life of abject misery and poverty. Whether in translation or in its Spanish original, it is highly likely that his childhood copy of *Don Quixote* was one of the many full editions then circulating in Paris, destined for a cultivated and gentlemanly readership; while more popular abridged versions were sold to the less literary-minded parts of the citizenry. What lies at the bottom of all this, and is perhaps the most accurate reflection, is that Cervantes' great work survived for many years in both the collective memory and the individual recollections of people such as Pelleport, who would never forget the first childhood readings.

Spanish literature was introduced to the Parisian homes of the eighteenth century in one way or another, and via *Don Quixote* in this particular case. Far from subsequently being neglected, as was the case with many other works, the book became a constant source of literary reference. This is not at all surprising, given what was happening in Paris and the fact that the city was without doubt the cultural epicentre of Europe at that time. We only have to refer by way of confirmation to the accounts of travellers who visited the city. One of them, a German tourist named Heinrich Friedrich von Storch, stated the following:

Everyone in Paris reads.... They read when driving or walking, during intermissions at the theatre, in the café, in the bath. In the shops, women, children, workers, apprentices read; on Sundays, people who congregate in house doorways read.... Soldiers on guard duty read, as do public officials at their posts.<sup>3</sup>

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2 Anne Gédéon Lafite, *Los Bohemios*. Introducción de Robert Darnton (Barcelona, Global Rhythm Press, 2010), p. 17.

3 Agnes Marcetteau-Paul, "Paris sous l'Ancien Régime", in Claude Jolly (dir.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. II. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530–1789* (Paris, Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 2008), p. 556: "Tout le monde lit à Paris [...] on lit en voiture, à la promenade, au théâtre dans les entractes, au café, au bain. Dans les boutiques, femmes,

To German eyes, reading appeared to be a practice that had been institutionalised in the city. There was no lack of reasons for this, as its social composition and its political, religious and intellectual function in relation to the rest of France gave reading a privileged position that was evidently reflected in a population enormously receptive to it.<sup>4</sup> There was a notable push to spread literacy through the creation of an extensive network of schools. This explains how, on the eve of the French Revolution, 100% of men and 90% of women were able to sign a will. There was likewise no lack of places in which to read, with a widespread presence of public and private libraries to reflect in an exemplary manner the attitudes of a citizenship committed to its era.

There is thus more than enough evidence to understand how Jacques-Louis Ménétra, a simple village man and glazier by trade, was able to write an autobiography brimming with political and religious reflections and containing allusions to writers such as Voltaire, Fontenelle or Rousseau.<sup>5</sup> His work highlighted the interrelation between oral and written traditions, which gave rise to a syncretic culture that drew on many sources. One witness of this cultural reality was Cavanilles, a botanist from the Spanish city of Valencia who, during his time in Paris towards the end of the eighteenth century, was captivated upon “oyr y ver que hasta las gentes de oficios escriben y hablan cómo me persuado que harían sus semejantes en tiempos de Tulio”. Cavanilles was pleasantly surprised by the clarity and choice of words of the voices that he heard, to an extent that even justified in certain cases the awarding of literary prizes to, among others, a baker, a cutler or a carpenter.<sup>6</sup>

With this evidence before us, it is therefore legitimate to wonder if the circulating literature concerned, whether popular or not, might include some Spanish book or other. This thought is made no less logical by the fact that both countries shared, albeit with certain nuances, a royal dynasty in the shape of the Bourbons. An interest in Spanish culture did not in any case originate in the 1700s, but dated rather and in particular from the previous century, when Spanish literature became an item of appreciation on the part of French

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enfants, ouvriers, apprentis lisent; le dimanche, les gens qui s'associent à la porte de leurs maisons lisent [...] Sur leur siege, les soldats lisent au poste et les commisaires à leur station”.

4 Marcetteau-Paul, “Paris sous l'Ancien Régime”, p. 548.

5 Daniel Roche, *Journal de ma vie. Jacques-Louis Ménétra, compagnon vitrier au 18e siècle* (Paris, Montalba, 1982), p. 301.

6 Nicolás Bas Martín, *El correo de la Ilustración. Libros y lecturas en la correspondencia entre Cavanilles y el librero Fournier (1790–1802)* (Madrid, Ollero y Ramos, 2013), p. 52. Letter from Antonio José Cavanilles to Juan Andrés. Paris 19 February 1785, p. 52: “hearing and seeing how even tradesmen write and speak as I imagine their forefather counterparts would have done in the times of Tullius”.

booksellers and publishers; especially those of Paris and Lyon.<sup>7</sup> Spanish literature was now to demonstrate, as it had before, its excessive dependence on printers based elsewhere in Europe; a situation that would clearly hold back its own printing industry.

This stark reality does not conceal the interest that existed for Spanish literature beyond the Pyrenees during the eighteenth century, with particular reference to the city of Paris, where everyone from the man in the street to the most affluent members of society were able to gain an intimate knowledge of Spanish culture. But how did they actually hear, or more accurately read, about the authors of the Spanish literature concerned? Booksellers' catalogues clearly constituted, as we shall see, one of the most important ways (but not the only one) of disseminating Spanish literature. A detailed analysis of the Spanish presence in all the cultural media of the French capital would be an overwhelming task and beyond the remit of this project, which will therefore focus on the Spanish books found in the catalogues of the Parisian booksellers of the Age of Enlightenment. We must however first consider the manuscript tradition behind these books. This involved many parties, including the booksellers, printers, translators and censors who made possible the printing of these texts and their subsequent sale to the public.

A certain precision is required when dealing with the catalogues concerned, so our analysis focuses solely on those with a specific section on “Spanish literature”. It leaves out other catalogues which might contain references to Spanish books spread out across different thematic areas, or listed as translations into French. These two details are needed to explain the findings of this work, which does not diminish their value in any way.

## 1.1 From Manuscript to Printed Word: Following the Trail of Spanish Books

We need to look at certain considerations before starting. The first of these is that any book (or any Spanish book, in this case) destined for publication in

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7 I will quote from works by Christian Péligré and Alexandre Cioranescu in this respect, along with the work of Losada Goya. Christian Péligré, “La difusión del libro español en Francia y particularmente en París durante el siglo XVII (aspectos históricos y bibliométricos)”, in *Fortuna de España. Textos españoles e imprenta europea (siglos XV–XVIII)* (Exposición Virtual del Centro Cervantes, 2002); ídem, “Les éditeurs lyonnais et le marché espagnol aux xvie et xviii siècles”, in *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, A.D.P.F., 1981); Alexandre Cioranescu, *Le masque et le visage. Du baroque espagnol au classicisme français* (Genève, Droz, 1983); José Manuel Losada Goya, *Bibliographie critique de la littérature espagnole en France au XVIIe siècle* (Ginebra, Droz, 1999).

*Ancien Régime* France had to pass through the hands of the censor. This meant that the bookseller, publisher or the author himself first had to obtain this official stamp of approval. This process of “registration” was based on a system of privileges or permits which accepted or rejected the works concerned. The censors established the level of tolerated illegality (tacit permission<sup>8</sup>) by examining the books and approving them in various manners, by way of privileges, permits and authorisations. In this way, the state encouraged the publication of books by allowing through certain works that flirted with illegality.<sup>9</sup>

These clarifications apply in our case as the register entries of some of the works include several Spanish items associated with Parisian booksellers. One such specific list dates from the years 1705 to 1716, when the widely known Abbé Bignon, who subsequently became Librarian of the Royal Library of Paris, held the official post of *Maître de la Librairie*.<sup>10</sup> He received his appointment thanks to his uncle Chancellor de Pontchartrain, who would present him with a list of works sent to be reviewed by the censors. These were manuscripts that had been submitted by their authors (most of whom were actually translators) or by the booksellers concerned, acting as editors and reviewers prior to approval by the censors. In the latter case, the bookseller would indicate the type of authorisation being applied for: a simple or tacit permit; or a general or local privilege, along with the date of the request. The resulting register was organised into various columns, with the first one containing the title of each work, followed by the number of volumes and the format in which the publisher wished to print it. This column would sometimes contain a reference to previous imprints, along with the price and privilege status. The second column would contain the name of the author or the bookseller requesting approval, along with the date of the application and – in some cases – the name of the censor to whom the manuscript was to be submitted. This detail would normally be found in the third column, containing the censor’s name and the date of examination. Details of the approval or rejection of the work might also be included on occasions, normally in the fourth and final column, which would also contain details of the type of privilege or permit granted and the number of years for which it was valid.

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8 Permit granted to a bookseller to import into France a work theoretically printed abroad, although it was known that it had been printed on French presses with an apparently foreign or fictitious imprint.

9 Daniel Roche, “La censure”, in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, *Histoire de l’édition française. II. Le livre triomphant 1660–1830* (Paris, Fayard, 1990), p. 91.

10 BNF (Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Site Mitterrand), Reg. A. *Registres des ouvrages manuscrits ou imprimés présentés à Mgr. le Chancelier pour obtenir des privilèges* (1705–1716).

The objective of Pontchartrain and the Abbé Bignon with these registers was to reorganise the French book trade in a way that combated Dutch competition and prevented the clandestine importation into France of foreign literary works. It was for this reason that they created an official body of censors, charged with ensuring that books contained nothing subversive or anything contrary to religion. It was, in short, preventive censorship.<sup>11</sup> It is on this basis that we find Spanish books in this register.

Various conclusions can be drawn from the above list. The most obvious of these is that, once again, the Spanish authors with the biggest presence on the French literary scene were those of the Golden Age. It is true that this register only mentions those works examined between 1705 and 1716, although this could include certain books from the early years of the Spanish Enlightenment. On the other hand, most of the catalogues of Parisian booksellers are dominated by such classics as *Don Quixote*, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Gracián and French-Spanish grammars and dictionaries. The majority of these were manuscripts destined for printing in the small duodecimo format, and some of them were reprints produced outside Spain, in places such as Toulouse, Lyon or Cologne.

An item of greater interest in this respect is the details of authors, and particularly of booksellers, who applied for privileges or permits to print Spanish books. They are of such interest precisely because they help us to complete the list of booksellers mentioned, which is the object of this study. It is in this way that we come across Claude Barbin, a Parisian bookseller of the late seventeenth century known for his magnificent editions of French classics such as Fontaine, Racine, Boileau, Molière and others. We see that he was considering, in 1698, the publication of Lesage's *Le théâtre espagnol*, the censoring of which was entrusted to André Dacier, a famous scholar and one of the 27 censors that Abbé Bignon had at his disposal. The specific edition concerned contained two Spanish comedies, *Le traistre puni* by Francisco de Rojas and *Dom Felix de Mendocce* by Lope de Vega, which were finally accepted for printing.

The censor (in this case Fontenelle, a French writer) also passed the manuscript of one of the classic Spanish-French grammars, that of Guillaume de Maunory, who had already translated Baltasar Gracián's *L'homme detrompé, ou le Criticon* into French. It was precisely a Gracián manuscript, to wit *L'homme de coeur*, which a French historian, Amelot de la Houssaye, translated into French after it had been printed in Paris in 1687 by Jean Boudot, who had then

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11 Éliane Itti, *Madame Dacier, femme et savante du Grand Siècle (1645–1720)* (Paris, L'Harmattan, 2012), p. 230.

transferred the rights to the work to a bookseller, Edme Couterot  *fils*, who passed them on in turn to a fellow bookseller (and also a bookbinder), Damien Beugnié. The latter finally fulfilled, in 1702, his plan to reissue the work. There are more than enough surviving details to confirm Parisian booksellers' interest in Spanish literature, and in authors such as Gracián in particular.

On other occasions, it was booksellers from French provincial cities such as Lyon who applied for the relevant permits to print Spanish books. Examples include brothers Jean and Jacques Anisson, who asked the censors to pass two works: one by Hernando de Castropalao, a Spanish Jesuit, and the other, *Tractatus de regimine regni Valentiae* by Lorenzo Matheu y Sanz, a classic text on the historic customary laws of the Spanish region of Valencia, which was ultimately rejected. The two booksellers from Lyon were more fortunate when it came to other manuscripts, among them one of the most remarkable works of French lexicography of the eighteenth century, César Oudin's *Tresor des deux langues françoise & espagnole*, which they now sought to republish as a "revue et corrigée" edition. The chief censors of the *Librairie* responded to their interest, stating that "une nouvelle édition de ce livre sera très utile au public" as the grounds for granting the Anisson brothers a "general privilege" permitting the publication of the book for a period of ten years.

François Barbier, a printer and bookseller also from Lyon, requested permission to reprint Ribadeneyra's *Vies des Saints*; a book for which permits had previously been granted in 1680 and 1702 to Claude Carteron, a fellow *lyonnais* printer and bookseller, and in 1682 to Guillaume de La Court, likewise a printer and bookseller, but based in Bordeaux. It was Barbier who would now be granted a simple permit to publish the book for a period of four years. Another book that had previously enjoyed such privileges was a Spanish work of picaresque literature, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, which a printer and bookseller from Rouen named Ferrand was allowed to publish for eight years. A local privilege granted for the same work in 1703 allowed two booksellers from Lyon, Laurent Langlois and César Chappuis, to produce the book in the version translated by Brémond. It was finally published, in four volumes, in 1705.

Spanish manuscripts were only rarely rejected out of hand. According to the records of the Abbé Bignon, those that were finally rejected with a "neant" stamp included works such as *État général ancien et moderne de la monarchie d'Espagne* and *Traduction des lettres espagnoles du comte de Peñañiel au marquis de Bomberg*. The rejection of works like *Don Quixote* was even rarer, although writers like Vadillan (in 1702) and Lesage (who sought to obtain a "general privilege" to publish a pamphlet on Cervantes' masterpiece) did in fact suffer such refusal.



TABLE 1 *Register of Spanish manuscripts submitted for censoring by the Director of the French National Library.*

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<i>Le théâtre espagnol, ou traduction des plus belles comedies espagnoles, par le Sr. Le Sage de Montmény.<sup>a</sup></i> 2 comedies pour essai intitulées, l'une le <i>Traistre puni</i> , et l'autre <i>Dom Felix de Mendoce</i> .	Par M. Le Sage de Montmény. Presentée par M. Barbin. <sup>b</sup>	Distribué a Monsieur André Dacier <sup>c</sup> en oct. 1699.	Approbation en ces termes. Je n'y ai rien trouvé qui puisse en empêcher l'impression. Le 20 nov. 1699.
<i>Grammaire des langues françoise &amp; espagnole, avec un vocabulaire des mots les plus en usage à la cour d'Espagne.</i> Pour un in 12 <sup>o</sup> .	C. par le S. Maunory, <sup>d</sup> et présentée par son goute.	D. à M. de Fontenelle. <sup>e</sup> le 22 avril 1701.	Approbation. Le 30 avril. 6 ans.
<i>L'homme de coeur de Balthasar Gracian traduit de l'espagnol avec des remarques.</i> Un gros in 12 <sup>o</sup> impression en juillet 1687 par prix de 25 sur precedent accordé a J. Boudot <sup>f</sup> par 6 ans, et continué par autres 6 ans, prix de 28. 1690. Cédé par le dit Boudot a Edme Couterot <sup>g</sup> et depuis par le dit Couterot a Dam. Beugnié <sup>h</sup> qui donne un nouveau prix, attendu les augmentations nouvelles.	Trad. par Amelot de La Houssaie. <sup>i</sup> Presenté par D. Beugnié.	D. à M. Pavillon le 17 juillet 1701.	Approbation. Dans laquelle on n'a rien trouvé qui doive en empêcher l'impression. Le 26 juillet 1701.

TABLE 1 *Register of Spanish manuscripts submitted for censoring by the Director of the French National Library. (cont.)*

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<i>R.P. Ferdinandi Castro Palao, legionensis, S.J. Opera moralia, vs. Jac. Platelii, sor.J. synopsis totius cursus theologicis.</i> Le Castro Palao est un in Fol. en 3 vol. impression à Lyon par prix du 15 nov. 1666. Est le Platelius est un cours de Theologie en 5 vol. in 8°. impression à Cologne en 1698 et 1700.	Privilege par M. Anisson. Presenté par Jacques Anisson son frère a Lyon.	D. à M. xxxx Le 17 juillet 1701.	Reprobation rendu.
<i>État general ancien et moderne, géographique et historique des royaumes &amp; provinces de la monarchie d'Espagne dans les 4 parties du monde, avec la relation de l'élevation de Philippe v sur le trone de cette monarchie, et de tous les mouvemens de l'Europe a ce fuser jusqu' à mariage de ce prince.</i> Par un in 12°.	C. et pr. par le Sr. De la Croix qui demande un privilege general le 21 mars. D. à M. le 25 du dit. [1702].	—	Neant
<i>Traduction des lettres espagnoles du comte de Peñafiel au marquis de Bomberg.</i>	C. et pr. par M. le Moble qui demande un privilege local le 2 mars. D. à M. le 25 du dit [1702].	Rep....	Neant

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<i>Le tresor des deux langues françoise &amp; espagnole contenant l'explication des mots et façon de parler de ces deux langues respectivement sume par l'autre nouvelle édition revue et corrigée sur les éditions precedentes de César Oudin et augmentée et divisée en deux parties.</i> Par 2 vol. in 4°.	C. autrefois par César Oudin. Présenté par M. Anisson qui demande un privilege general le 2 avril. Distribué à M. de Fontenelle le 7 avril.	App. Je crois qu' une nouvelle édition de ce livre sera très utile au public. Le 8 avril 1702.	Privilege General au S.J. Anisson pour dix ans.
<i>Dom Quichote de la Manche espagnol revolté, tragicomedie.</i> Par un brochure in 12°.	C. par Vadillan de la Garde, & présenté le 21 dont par D. à M. xxxx le 24 du dit mois [1702].	Rep. Parce qu'il n'a pas été trouvé assez bon pour l'impression. Le 8 septembre 1702.	Neant 7 sept. 1702.
<i>Nouvelles aventures de Dom Quichote de la Manche par le licencié Monss. Fernández de Avellaneda, natif de la ville de Tordesillas, &amp; traducteur en françois pour la première fois.</i> Par vol. in 12°.	Trad. et présenté le 28 sept. Par M. Le Sage de Montmeny pour un Privilege General. D. à M.		Neant, attendu que cet article a été repete n° 907. 27 octobre 1702

TABLE 1 *Register of Spanish manuscripts submitted for censoring by the Director of the French National Library. (cont.)*

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<p><i>Nouvelles aventures de D. Quichote de la Manche, composées par le licentia Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, natif de la ville de Tordesillas, &amp; traduites en françois pour la première fois, avec un traité de l'antiquité de la nation et de la langue des celtes autrement appeles Gaulois.</i></p> <p>Ce sont deux ouvrages de deux differents auteurs qui seront chacun un in 12°. Le dit Quichote aura de la suite.</p>	<p>C. le premier par M. Le Sage de Montmeny, et le deuxième par Dom Paul Pezron<sup>j</sup> Abbé de la Charmoie de l'ordre de S. Bernard.</p> <p>Presenté le 20 octobre par Gabriel Martin, libraire de Paris pour un Privilege General.</p> <p>D. le première a M. de Fontenelle sous le n° 892 le 28 sept. Le deuxième a M. l'Abbé Galloys, qui avoit lu l'ouvrage [sic].</p>	<p>App. Je n'y ai rien trouvé qui en doive empêcher l'impression. Le 3 octobre 1702.</p> <p>Je n'y ai rien trouvé qui me semble devoir empêcher qu'on ne l'imprime. Le 26 octobre 1702.</p>	<p>Privilege general a Gabriel Martin, lib. à Paris.</p> <p>Pour huit ans. 27 octobre 1702.</p>
<p><i>Histoire du ministere du Cardinal Ximenes, archevêque de Toledé &amp; regent d'Espagne, 3e édition revue corrigée, et augmentée par l'auteur.</i></p> <p>2 vol. in 12°. imprimé en 1692 à Toulouse par Priv. du auteur. 1692.</p> <p>A l'auteur par 6 ans.</p>	<p>C. par M. Marsollier<sup>k</sup> Chan. de l'église Gash D'Uzes.</p> <p>Pres. le 25 juin par Greg. Dupuis<sup>l</sup> lib. à Paris par un P.G.</p> <p>D. à M. de Tillades le 28 du dit.</p>	<p>App. Comme ces éditions sont curieuses &amp; les corrections. Je ne judicions la reimpression de ce livre en sera plus utile et plus agreable au public.</p> <p>Le 3 juillet 1703.</p>	<p>Privilege general a Greg. Dupuis, lib. à Paris.</p> <p>Sous quatre ans. Jeudi 16 aout 1703.</p>

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<i>Don Laurentii Mathaei &amp; Sanz Tractatus de Regimine regni Valentiae, item M. Ant. Sabelli summa diversorum tractatum, cum additionibus G. Ant. Sabelli.</i> Ce sont 2 livres qui ont été enregistrés ci devant. Le premier sous le n° 1105 & l'autre sous le n° 1058.	Presentés ce deux separement par le Sr. Anisson, q.d. un P.L. au nom de son frère libraire à Lyon. R. à M. Rasfied des dites [1703].	—	Neant
<i>Histoire de l'admirable Dom Guzman d'Alfarache.</i> 4 vol. in 12° dont Priv. a P. Ferrand, Imp. Lib. à Rouen. oct. 95 par 8 ans qui n' expose qu'en est prochain.	Pr. Le 21 aout pour Langlois & Chap- puis <sup>m</sup> Lib. à Lyon par un P.L. [1703].		Privilége Local a Langlois & Chapuis Lib. à Lyon. Pour quatre ans.
<i>Vies des saints par Ribadeneyra.</i> In Fol. Deux Priv. Le premier a Carteron <sup>n</sup> Lib. à Lyon 6 jan. 81. 6 ans. Contin. 8 oct. 702. 6 ans. Deuxième a La Cour <sup>o</sup> à Bordeaux 16 julliet 82. 10 ans.	Pr. Le 24 ann par Fr. Barbier <sup>p</sup> Impr. à Lyon une P.L. [1703].		Permission Simple a Fr. Barbier. Pour 4 ans.

TABLE 1 *Register of Spanish manuscripts submitted for censoring by the Director of the French National Library. (cont.)*

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<i>Histoire de la conquête du Mexique ou de la Nouvelle Espagne par Fernand Cortes, traduite de l'espagnol de D. Ant. de Solis, avec les metamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites par Du Ryer.</i> 2 gros in 12° impression en Hollande en 1692. 2° 3 in 12° impression en 1693 par prix de 15. Fev. 85 a G. Deluyne <sup>a</sup> par 10 ans.	Pr. Le 30 done par Ch. Osmont, lib. à Paris pour une P.S. D. à M. Fontenelle le dit sept.	App. Le 12 sept. 1703.	Permission Simple a Charles Osmont, Libraire à Paris. Six o huit ans. Jeudi 13 sept. 1703.
<i>Melchioris Cani, Ord. Praed. episcopi canariensis, opera, cum indicibus.</i> Un gros in 8°. Imprimée en 1638 a Cologne.	Pres. le 1 dec. Par Amable Auroy, <sup>r</sup> libraire à Paris par un P.L. D. à M.	Bon	Privilege Local par la ville de Lyon, a Amable Auroy, libraire à Paris Pour quatre ans. Samedi 8 dec. 1703.
<i>Les oeuvres spirituelles de Dom Jean de Palafox évêque d'Osma.</i> Un en 2 parties contenant l'une "Les reponses aux demandez d'une personne de pieté"; l'autre "le parleur de la nuit de Noël, ou le Voyage spirituel". Imprimé par Priv. du 6 fevrier 1673 accordé auquel Remy par 6 ans.	Pr. Le 21 fevrier par Christ. Remy, <sup>s</sup> libraire a Paris, pour un P.G. D. à M. Favart le 25 du dit.	Je n'y rien trouvé de contraire a la foi ni aux b.m. Le 28 avril 1704.	Privilege Local a Christ. Remy, Libraire à Paris Pour quatre ans. Lundi 5 mai 1704.

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<i>La Grammaire espagnole de César Oudin, nouvelle édition revue et augmentée.</i> Un in 12°. Jeudi 13 mars.	Par le S. Abbé Gaëtans, maître de langue espagnole. Pr. Le 13 mars par un P.G. D. à M.		Neant Attendu q'il ne l'agit pas de C. Oudin ou cet. art. a été repeté autrement n° 1469. Jeudi 3 avril 1704.
<i>Parallele du Cardin. Ximenez ministre d'Espagne, &amp; du Cardinal de Richelieu, ministre de France, contenant l'histoire du gouvernement de ces monarchies sous le ministere de ces cardinaux.</i> Pour un in 12°.	C. par l'auteur de la Vie de S. Joseph. Pr. Le 26 mars par P. Witte, <sup>t</sup> Libraire à Paris, pour un P.G. D. à M. le 29 du dit.	Rep. parce que la mémoire du Card. de R. y est trouvé en plusieurs endroits entre la verité que les [sic]. Le 8 avril 1704.	Neant Jeudi 10 avril 1704.
<i>Grammaire de la langue espagnole, avec un dictionnaire nouveau espagnol &amp; françois.</i> La Grammaire sera un bon in 12°. & le Dictionnaire 2 in 4°. Dont l'un sera espa. et franc. & l'autre fr. espagnol.	C. et pr. des le 13 mars par le Sr. Abbé J.B. Gaetano y Pagani sous le n° 1458 pour un P.G. D. à M.	App. Je croi que ces deux livres seront plait aux amateurs de la l. espagnole. Le 2 avril 1704.	Privilege General de l'Abbé Gaetano et Pagani. Pour dix ans. Jeudi 3 avril 1704.

TABLE 1 *Register of Spanish manuscripts submitted for censoring by the Director of the French National Library. (cont.)*

Title	Author or bookseller	Censor	Approved/ Rejected
<i>Zaide. Histoire espagnolle avec la lettre de M. Haet sur l'origine des romands.</i> 2 in 12°. Imprimé par Barbin en 1669 avec priv. pour 7 ans.	Composée par Mr. De Segrais <sup>a</sup> et recom. Par le même Mr. De Rochery pour le dit David ce 9 novembre pour un Pr. Local. Distribué a Ms. Ragnel ce 14 novembre 1704.	App. S. du 27 novembre 1704.	Privilege Local à Christ. David, <sup>v</sup> Libraire à Paris pour cinq ans. Le jeudi 27 novembre 1704.

a Alain-René Lesage, French novelist and dramatist.

b The bookshop of Claude Barbin in Paris.

c This concerns the academic André Dacier.

d Guillaume de Maunory, French writer and translator.

e Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, French writer.

f Jean Boudot, French printer.

g Edme Couterot, Paris bookseller.

h Damien Beugnié, Paris bookseller and bookbinder.

i Nicolas Amelot de La Houssaye, French historian.

j Paul-Yves Pezron, Cistercian monk of the College of St Bernard in Paris.

k Jacques Marsollier, Canon of the church of Uzès.

l Grégoire Du Puis, Paris bookseller.

m Laurent Langlois and César Chappuis, Lyon booksellers.

n Claude Carteron, Lyon printer and bookseller.

o Guillaume de La Court, Bordeaux printer and bookseller.

p François Barbier, Lyon printer and bookseller.

q Guillaume de Luynes, Paris bookseller.

r Amable Auroy, Paris bookseller and bookbinder.

s Christophe Remy, Paris bookseller.

t Pierre Witte, Paris bookseller.

u Jean-Renaud de Segrais, French academic.

v Christophe David, Paris bookseller.



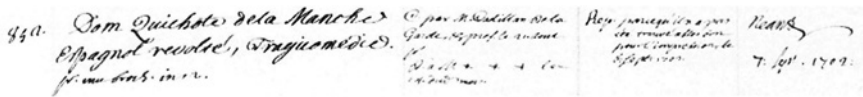


FIGURE 1 Denial by the French censors of a request to publish a pamphlet on "Don Quixote". BNF. *Registre des ouvrages manuscrits ou imprimés présentés à Mgr le chancelier pour obtenir des privilèges* (1705–1716). Reg. A. p. 55.

Other Parisian authors and booksellers would turn out to be more fortunate in this respect. Such is the case of a bookseller named Gabriel Martin, who we will discuss later in greater detail. He managed to obtain a "general privilege", valid for a period of eight years, to publish an edition of *Quichote* in a version by Lesage. A similar fate awaited *Histoire du ministère du cardinal Ximenes* written by Jacques Marsollier, a canon of the church of Uzès. In 1704 a Parisian bookseller named Grégoire Du Puisy was granted a four-year permit to publish and sell the book. This comparative biography of the eponymous Cardinal Ximenes and Cardinal Richelieu was also submitted for publication by Pierre Witte, a Paris bookseller, only to suffer rejection on 10 April 1704. It was precisely in Witte's bookshop that other Spanish works could be found, among them:<sup>12</sup>

- *Decouverte des Indes Occidentales par les espagnols*, écrite par D. Balt. De Las Casas, evesque de Chiapas. 12°.
- *L'homme detrompé, ou le Criticon* de Baltazar Gracian, traduit de l'espagnol, 12°. 3 v. La Haye.
- *Delices d'Espagne & de Portugal, enrichies de figures en taille douce*. 12°. 9 vol.
- *Dictionnaire françois & espagnol* de Sobrino. 4°.
- *Histoire du Card. Ximenes*. 12°. in two volumes.
- *Histoire de D. Quichotte*. 12°. 5 vol.
- *Recherches historiques & genealogiques des grands d'Espagne*. 12°. Fig.
- *Grammaire espagnole & françoise* de Sobrino. 12°. Bruxelles.
- *Vie & oeuvres de S.P. d'Alcantara*. 12°.
- *Exercicio Christiano*.
- *Exercicios de devoción* por Grenada. 18°.
- *Devociones y exercicios para un christiano*. 18°.
- *Las confessions de S. Augustino*. 24°.
- *Ramillette de divinas flores*. 12°. 2 v. fig.
- *Officio de la virgen para los tres tiempos del año*. 24°. Con fig.

12 BNF. Département Littérature et art, Q-9355. *Livres qui se trouvent chez Pierre Witte, libraire à Paris, au bas de la rue S. Jacques ...* Paris, [s.a.].

- *Vida de Guzmán de Alfarache*. 8°. 2 v. fig.
- *Nuevo estilo y formulario de escribir de cartas misivas*. 12°.
- *Piedra yman*. 24°.
- *Historia de Carlos v*. fol. 2 v. con fig.

Other than a couple of works from the eighteenth century, one of them epistolary, the others perfectly matched the literary canon of the day. The Spanish manuscripts submitted to the French censors for approval do indeed correspond to the literary tastes of the period, which helps to explain why we subsequently find these texts, as previously printed works, in the catalogues of the Parisian booksellers.

It is therefore easy to come across such names as Antonio de Solís, Melchor Cano or Juan de Palafox, who crop up repeatedly in the repertoires of these booksellers. The first of these, a bookseller named Charles Osmont II, applied for a simple permit to publish *Histoire de la conquête du Mexique*, a two-volume work in duodecimo format which had enjoyed extraordinary success in editions published towards the end of the eighteenth century in The Hague and Paris. Guillaume de Luynes, a Parisian bookseller active towards the end of the century, was the applicant actually given permission to publish the work for ten years. An interest for things Hispanic is reflected in the book catalogue issued by Luynes in 1677, which contains the following Spanish books:<sup>13</sup> *Histoire d'Espagne* in two volumes, in duodecimo format; *La Grammaire espagnolle & françoise*, in octavo; and *Dom-Guichot de la Manche*, likewise in duodecimo format, in two volumes

By 1703, Osmont had managed to inherit the privilege of publishing the work of Antonio de Solís, by way of a simple permit valid for eight years. This explains why the book was published in Paris in the following year of 1704. Amable Auroy, a Paris bookseller and bookbinder, meanwhile obtained, at the end of 1703, a local permit to publish the complete works of Melchor Cano in the city of Lyon. A similar privilege was bestowed on a Parisian bookseller named Christophe Remy, allowing him to publish the *Oeuvres spirituelles* of Juan de Palafox, which were finally printed in 1705. Mention should finally also be made of Paris bookseller Christophe David, who was likewise granted permission to publish *Zaide*, *Histoire espagnolle* in two volumes for a period of five years. A work by Madame de la Fayette which was actually published, in

13 BNF. *Catalogue des livres imprimez chez Guillaume de Luyne libraire juré, au Palais, dans la salle des Merciers à la Justice, sous la montée de la cour des Aydes*. M. DC. LXVII [Paris, Guillaume de Luyne, 1667].

its 1705 edition, under the name of her friend Jean-Renaud de Segrais, a French academic.

The central agency that dealt with all these issues relating to the registration and censorship of books, and permits allowing their publication, was the *Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie*. An examination of its files, which are currently kept in the National Library of France, allows us to track the presence of Spanish books. These records are crucial for understanding the progression from manuscript to published work, from handwritten letter to printed book, and from author to printer and then to bookseller. These factors can help us to comprehend the presence or absence of some of these books when examining the booksellers' catalogues that are the subject of this study.

Let us begin with the banned authors. The documents produced by the Parisian *Chambre Syndicale* include a "*Répertoire alphabétique des livres prohibés*", which lists two Spanish books.<sup>14</sup> One of these is the *Opera moralia* by a Castilian Jesuit named Ferdinandus de Castro Palao, the final six-volume edition of which had been printed in Lyon in 1700, and then subjected to a ban dated 1701. The other work, Spanish in subject although not in authorship, is *Parallele des cardinaux de Richelieu et de Ximenes*, by the Abbé Richard, which was likewise banned by the censors in 1701. It would nevertheless appear in 1705, with official approval and a printing permit granted to Estienne Ganeau, a bookseller from Paris. On other occasions Spanish books were seized for being "novel". Examples include the six copies of *Histoire de Mayorque*, originally published in Torcy, near Paris, and confiscated on 26 August 1777.<sup>15</sup>

The *Chambre Syndicale* counted on what would nowadays be called a team of support staff to carry out its procedures. Whether directly employed or taken on as associates, they would visit printing houses and bookshops to carry out inspections and, when considered necessary, confiscate their stock. On 16 October 1742, for example, various books were seized from the shop of a Parisian bookseller named Huart. These included several octavo copies of *Tirant lo Blanc*, for subsequent submission to "Mons. Maboul".<sup>16</sup> A few months later, a six-volume edition of *Don Quichotte* suffered the same fate on grounds

14 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21928–21929. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. "Répertoire alphabétique des livres prohibés"* (1601–1800).

15 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21933–21934. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Journal des livres suspendus depuis le 4 janvier 1771 jusqu'au 11 janvier 1791* (1601–1800).

16 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21932. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Registre des livres arrêtés dans les visites faites par les syndic et adjoints* (1742–1771), p. 1.

of being “counterfeit”.<sup>17</sup> Several years after that, “le nouveau Don Quichotte imité de l’allemand de M. Wieland”,<sup>18</sup> an octavo edition published in Bouillon in 1770 in clear allusion to the adaptation that Madame d’Ussieux had made of Cervantes’ work and then published using one of the clandestine printing presses of Bouillon, was likewise confiscated.<sup>19</sup> Just a few days later, on 16 November 1770, a new consignment of 300 copies of the previous edition of *Don Quixote* was seized, likewise on the pretext of being “novel” in character.<sup>20</sup> In short, any manuscript that sought to obtain a privilege or printing permit first had to pass through the filter of the *Chambre Syndicale*.

Aspiring applicants in this respect included Daniel Chaubert, who ran a bookshop in Paris and who obtained a general privilege, valid for a period of nine years from July 1741, to publish in duodecimo format *Abrégé méthodique de l’Histoire d’Espagne* by Duchesne. An implicit part of this concession was a ban on any fraudulent edition of the work concerned, subject to confiscation of every copy.<sup>21</sup> On other occasions, usually when the stock of a bookshop was sold, the “privileges” previously granted were passed on to the buyer. When the bookshop belonging to the widow of Florentin Delaulne was sold in May 1741 to booksellers Poirion and Cavelier  *fils*, for example, the acquired stock included, along with other items, the *Nouvelles aventures de D. Quichotte par Avellaneda*.<sup>22</sup>

References to Spanish books in the archives of the *Chambre Syndicale* are generally scarce throughout the eighteenth century, although when they do appear, the one factor that they have in common is that they are all works originally dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They include booksellers and authors (i.e. translators) not only from Paris, but also from other French cities, such as Lyon, who at one time requested permits or privileges for the printing of Spanish manuscripts. It was in this way, and on 21 May 1776, that a Paris printer and bookseller named Gabriel Charles Le Breton asked to

17 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21932, p. 3.

18 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21932, p. 140: “the new imitation *Don Quixote* by the German M. Wieland”.

19 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21932, p. 140. The confiscation is dated 6 de novembre de 1770.

20 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21932, p. 141.

21 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21957. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Registre des privilèges accordés aux auteurs et libraires, 1653–1790*. XIV Années 1738–1742, p. 502.

22 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21957, p. 510. The document concerned is dated 5 August 1741 and entitled *État des privilèges compris dans la vente de mon fonds de librairie faite aux sieurs Poirion & Cavelier fils*.

"imprimer et donner au public" a series of works that included "*L'aimable Jesus*, traduit de l'espagnol du Pere Jean Eusebe de Nuremberg, jésuite".<sup>23</sup> The request was accepted and the applicant was granted a simple permit valid for three years, with the obligation – as was customary with all such permits and privileges – to submit a manuscript to Malesherbes, the Chancellor of France, for his approval, along with a further two copies to the Public Library, a branch of which was housed in the Louvre as part of the National Library.<sup>24</sup>

A few years later, in 1768, a Parisian bookseller called Durand applied for a permit to publish an edition of *Vie de S. Jean de la Croix*, which was finally printed a year later by Pierre Collet under the title *La vie de S. Jean de la Croix, premier Carme Déchaussé, confesseur de Sainte Thérèse, et son coadjuteur dans la réforme du Carmel*.<sup>25</sup> In the same year a bookseller from Lyon, named Bruyset, obtained a six-year extension to his permit to print the famous *Dictionnaire de Sobrino espagnol et française*.<sup>26</sup> In March 1781, Aimable Le Roy – likewise a bookseller from Lyon – published a six-volume duodecimo edition of *Histoire de Dom Quichote avec des figures* with a print-run of two thousand copies. Rouen bookseller Pierre Macheul had published the same work the previous year, but with a smaller run of only 1,200 copies.<sup>27</sup>

Cervantes' work was to eclipse all other Spanish books. Indeed all the permits, privileges and censorship activities of the day contain traces of *Don Quixote*. Examples include an entry in the registry of tacit permits for the years 1772 to 1789, recording a permit granted to Claude Bleuët, and passed on to Crébillon, regarding *Les principales aventures de Dom Quichotte* "représentée dans les Tapisseries des Gobelins", based on the version by Coppel.<sup>28</sup>

23 "*L'aimable Jesus*, translated from the Spanish by Father Jean Eusebe of Nuremberg, a Jesuit".

24 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21961. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Registre des privilèges accordés aux auteurs et libraires, 1653–1790*. XVIII Années 1756–1759, pp. 65–66.

25 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 22001. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux xviiie et XVIIIe siècles. Registre de la Librairie depuis le 25 février 1768*, p. 37. Dated 16 de junio de 1768.

26 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 22001, p. 27. Dated 28 de abril de 1768.

27 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 22019. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux xviiie et XVIIIe siècles. Répertoire alphabétique de livres publiés de 1778 à 1788, avec l'indication du chiffre de tirage*, p. 44.

28 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21983. *Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Registres des permissions tacites, 1772–1789*. I Années 1772–1782, p. 29: "represented in the Gobelins tapestries".

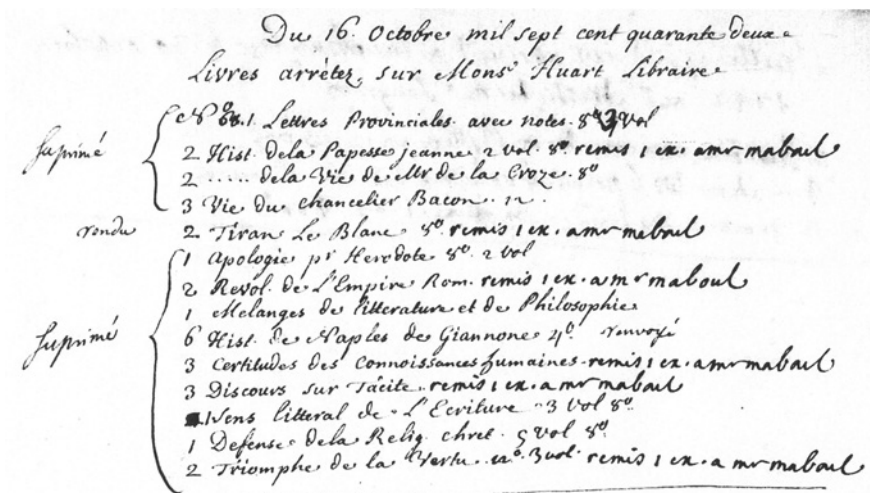


FIGURE 2 Confiscated books in the bookshop of Huart in Paris, among them "Tiran lo Blanc". BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21932. Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVII et XVIIIe siècles. Registre des livres arrêtés dans les visites faites par les syndic et adjoints (1742–1800).

*Don Quixote* is accompanied by certain other representative works from the Spanish Golden Age, such as *Guzmán de Alfarache*, for which printing privileges (expiring in 1777) were granted to Delalain, a Parisian printer and bookseller.<sup>29</sup>

Whether it concerns manuscripts or their subsequent printed versions, what is certain is that the booksellers of Paris echoed the interest in Spanish literature that existed in the city. We now have to verify whether the manuscripts concerned actually came to be printed, and if the editions concerned were included in the catalogues. This involves turning our attention from the printed book to the booksellers' catalogues.

## 1.2 Books from Spain in Eighteenth-Century Paris

The street was an ideal laboratory for polling the tastes and preferences of future readers; of Spanish books in this case. The scene embraced the most

29 BNF. Département des manuscrits, Français 21832. Archives de la Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. "État général des imprimeurs du royaume, 1777". Contient: "Tableau des ouvrages jugés communs ou qui le deviendront à l'expiration des privilèges ... en exécution de l'arrêt du 30 août 1777".

popular genres (such as verse, romances, tales, comedies and songs), together with the acute observations of travel writers like Bourgoing, De La Porte, Peyron and Silhouette,<sup>30</sup> among others, and various diplomats, intellectuals or merchants who had had the opportunity to travel to Spain.<sup>31</sup> All this contributed to an "image of Spain" which the professionals of the world of books (booksellers, printers and publishers) were necessarily party to. Indeed they built up their business after sounding out the market, which helps to explain the involvement of Paris booksellers in print-runs of up to ten thousand copies of *Voyages du P. Labat en Espagne et en Italie* (1730), which was so successful that a counterfeit edition was subsequently published in Amsterdam.

The above outlets were in addition to the already established and traditional periodicals, bibliographies and book auctions, along with relationships based on written correspondence. The latter were a faithful reflection of some of the conversations that could be enjoyed in eighteenth-century Paris, which offered many venues for animated discussion; some more democratic (like the public gardens and boulevards) than others; as was the case with the *salons* and their more restricted and select clientele. The public and private spheres were combined in all these places, as evidenced by the letters concerned, which provide a written record of the conversations that occurred there.

Comprehending a culture, that of Spain in this case, entailed understanding and learning its language. Various French intellectuals devoted themselves to this task, including l'Abbé Vayrac, the author of *État présent de l'Espagne* (1718), who arranged for the printing shop of Pierre Witte to publish his *Nouvelle*

30 Jean François Bourgoing, *Nouveau voyage en Espagne, ou Tableau de l'état actuel de cette monarchie* (Paris, Regnault, 1789). It includes descriptions of the Spanish theatre. A few years later, in 1797, his work *Tableau de l'Espagne moderne*, was published in Paris; Joseph de La Porte, *Le Voyageur François, ou la connoissance de l'ancien et du nouveau monde* (Paris, L. Cellot, 1772). This includes references to the Spanish theatre; and to Cervantes, Quevedo, Feijoo and Isla, among others; Jean-François Peyron, *Essais sur l'Espagne. Nouveau voyage en Espagne fait en 1777 et en 1778* (Londres, P. Elmsly, 1783). This includes a chapter dedicated to "Spanish theatre" and another to "Spanish literature", with quotations from authors such as Juan de Mariana, Calderón or Cervantes; Étienne de Silhouette, *Voyages de France, d'Espagne, de Portugal et d'Italie* (Amsterdam; Paris, Merlin, 1770). Quotation of the historian Mariana.

31 Jean Sarrailh, "Voyageurs françaises au XVIIIe siècle. De l'Abbé de Vayrac à l'Abbé Delaporte", *Bulletin Hispanique*, T° 36, n° 1 (1934), pp. 29–70; Examples include *Papiers inédits du duc de Saint-Simon. Lettres et dépêches sur l'ambassade d'Espagne – Tableau de la cour d'Espagne en 1721*. This work was previously published in the nineteenth century; I include here, among the numerous intellectual references to Spain, the references made by the pamphleteer Mercier in his political drama, *Portrait de Philippe II, roi d'Espagne* (1785).

*grammaire espagnole, pour apprendre facilement, & en peu de tems, a prononcer, écrire, & parler la langue castillane* (1708). This tradition proved to be an unprecedented success, as the famous *Gramática* by Sobrino will make plain.

These facts demonstrate a French approach to Spanish culture which was to have, albeit somewhat timidly, a pronounced impact in educated and intellectual circles in particular. Such was the case of the young ladies who were recommended to read *L'Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne* (1758) by Joseph-Louis-Ripault Désormeaux, in five volumes, together with the famous "Dom Quichotte", which recounted like no other work "les extravagances chevaleresques des espagnols, leurs graves ridicules, leurs préjugés, leur ignorance et leur sérieuse déraison, d'une manière plus sûre et plus piquante, que les gros livres qu' on a écrit sur cette nation".<sup>32</sup> As the historical tale was one of the genres most in vogue in eighteenth-century France, the young ladies concerned were no exception to the rule. There were on the other hand authors such as André-Guillaume Contant d'Orville, whose writings include *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque* (1785), part of which was entitled "Bibliothèque historique a l'usage des dames", in which the author attempted to instruct young ladies on the study of history; a field in which he was to follow the method of French historian Lenglet Du Fresnoy. This made reference to a large number of Spanish historical works, all of them in the French language, which are listed below:<sup>33</sup>

- *Délices de ce royaume [Espagne] & du Portugal*. 1715. 6 v. in 12°.
- Abbé de Vayrac. *L'État de l'Espagne*. 1718. 4 v. in 12°.
- *Lettres de la marquise de Villars*.
- *Mémoires de madame d'Aulnoy*. 1681 & 1698.
- Pere de Livoy. *Voyage d'Espagne*. Paris, 1772.
- Silhouette. *Voyages*. 1770. 4 v. in 8°.
- Mariana. *Histoire générale d'Espagne*. Paris, 1725. 5 v. in 4°.
- Cardonne. *Histoire de l'Afrique & de l'Espagne, sous la domination des arabes*. Paris, 1765. 3 v. in 12°.

32 *Plan de lecture pour une jeune dame* (A Paris, de l'imprimerie de Prault, 1784), p. 58: "the knightly extravagances of the Spaniards, their ridiculous importance, their prejudices, their ignorance and their serious irrationality; sharper and more sure than the thick books that have been written on this nation".

33 André-Guillaume Contant-D'Orville, *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque* (À Paris, Chez Moutard, 1785). This selection of Spanish literature can be found in the work *Bibliothèque historique a l'usage des dames*. p. iv.



- Jean de Ferreras. *Histoire générale d'Espagne*. 10 v. in 4°.
- Pere d'Orleans. *Histoire des revolutions de l'Espagne*. 1737. 5 v. in 12°.
- Déformeaux. *Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne*. 1759. 5 v. in 12°.
- Hénault. *Abrégé chronologique*.
- Abbé Bertoud. *Anecdotes espagnoles & portugaises*. 1773. 2 v. in 8°.
- Abbé Mignot. *Histoire d'Espagne*. 1766. 2 v. in 12°.
- Silhouette. *Réflexions politiques sur les plus grands princes, & particulièrement sur Ferdinand le Catholique*. Paris, 1730. In 12°.
- Fléchier. *Histoire du cardinal Ximénès*. 1693. In 12°.
- Marsolier. *Histoire du cardinal Ximénès*. 1704. 2 v. in 12°.
- Pere du Poncet. *Histoire de Gonsalve de Cordove*. Paris, 1714. 2 v. in 12°.
- Gregorio Leti. *Histoire de Philippe II*. 6 v. in 12°.
- Abbé de Saint-Réal. *Histoire tragique du Prince Don Carlos*.
- Valdori. *Anecdotes de son ministère [Duc d'Olivarès], tirée de Vittorio Siri*. 1722.
- Gregorio Leti. *Vie du Duc d'Ossone*. ca. 1700.
- Targe. *Histoire de l'avènement de la maison de Bourbon au trône d'Espagne*. Paris, 1772. 6 v.
- Rousset. *Vie du cardinal Alberoni*. La Haye, 1719. In 8°.
- *Vie du Duc de Ripperda*.

Getting to know Spain "warts and all" formed part of the education of children and other young Parisians, who obtained a general idea of their neighbouring country by various means, including its literature.<sup>34</sup> Most school primers and diary records contain references, with varying degrees of frequency, to the ideas typically associated with Spain: ignorance, a lack of culture and industrious prosperity and – above all – the fact that "le clergé y a beaucoup d'autorité et de grands revenus".<sup>35</sup>

These hackneyed images helped to generate a whole body of anti-Spanish literature in France, which was particularly favoured by grand *philosophes*

34 One such medium consisted of manuals of Christian instruction like those of the French missionary and preacher Pierre Humbert, whose *Instructions chrétiennes pour les jeunes gens* (1740), enjoyed great success in the French provinces, as opposed to Paris. The work included a chapter dedicated to "De la lecture des bons livres", where he mentions Spanish books such as the *Guide des pécheurs* by Luis de Granada. Joël Fouilleron, "Fuir les mauvais livres: sur une bibliophobie de l'Église au siècle des Lumières", *Histoire et civilisation du livre. Revue Internationale*, VII (2012), p. 294.

35 *Almanach d'éducation ou abrégé de toutes les sciences à l'usage des enfans de six ans, jusqu'à douze et au dessus* (A Paris, chez le Vachez, 1791): "the clergy enjoy much authority and rich revenues."

such as Voltaire and Montesquieu.<sup>36</sup> The former actually praised Spanish influence on European history, finding “its novels pleasant, its fictions ingenious”, but not its philosophical poverty.<sup>37</sup> This vision existed in parallel with a more “rose-tinted” idea of Spain, which was particularly prevalent in certain periodicals. With this negative view of a Spain supposedly stuck in the past, Voltaire did not seem particularly interested in its then-present state, which was still dominated by the Church and the Inquisition. A group of intellectuals emerged, by virtue of their own merits, who were politically moderate and saw, in a more sympathetic light, a Spain that was not involved in the radical philosophical ideas then prevailing in France.<sup>38</sup>

The citizen of Paris could thus choose reading matter of Spanish origin that ranged from erudite texts to the affordable popular journals that circulated in the city, all of which helped popularise Spanish literature by various means; particularly the printed word. The popular publications concerned covered such controversial subjects as the expulsion of the Jesuits. We know this thanks to a series of pamphlets that were distributed in the city, including “un imprimé singulier relatif aux jésuites d’Espagne”, entitled *Recueil des pièces originales concernant l’expulsion des jesuites du royaume d’Espagne* (Paris, 1767), “qui se répand dans le public”.<sup>39</sup>

Despite certain exceptions, all the media concerned – be they books, newspapers or popular literature – clearly gave a literary image of Spain that corresponded to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Eighteenth-century Spain became totally marginalised, for reasons both voluntary and involuntary. This perception definitely influenced Parisian booksellers, as we shall see, when it came to choosing the reading matter that would later be listed in their respective catalogues.

36 Françoise Étienvere, “Montesquieu y Voltaire: sus visiones de España”, in José Checa Beltrán (ed.), *Lecturas del legado español en la Europa ilustrada* (Madrid, Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2012), pp. 67–105.

37 Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *La Francia española. Las raíces hispanas del absolutismo francés* (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2004), p. 104.

38 José Checa Beltrán, “Leyenda negra y leyenda rosa”, in José Checa Beltrán (ed.), *Lecturas del legado español en la Europa ilustrada* (Madrid, Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2012), p. 9.

39 Siméon-Prosper Hardy, *Mes loisirs, ou Journal d’événemens tels qu’ils parviennent à ma connoissance, 1753–1789*. Volume 1. 1753–1770. Sous la direction de Daniel Roche and Pascal Bastien, Sabine Juratic (Québec, Presses de l’Université Laval, 2008–2012), p. 230: “a singular publication concerning the Jesuits of Spain, which was disseminated among the public”.

They were surely also influenced by the news, in this case negative, that reached them regarding the official surveillance and "mis au pilon" of certain Spanish books, although this applied only in very exceptional cases. One of these was the confiscation in 1785 of two copies of *Voyage de Figaro en Espagne* by Fleuriot de Langle. These had been sent to Poinçot's bookshop in Paris, but ended up in the Bastille; the usual destination of seditious books and persons alike. The Archbishop of Paris condemned the three editions of the work "comme impies, sacrilèges, blasphématoires, destructeurs des mœurs et de la religion, injurieux et calomnieux envers la nation espagnole et son gouvernement".<sup>40</sup> As the work apparently involved the participation of a pamphleteer named Louis-Sébastien Mercier, its impact comes as no surprise. The list of books confiscated and carried off to the Bastille in 1790 by order of the censors survives thanks to the *Catalogue des livres en feuilles provenant de la Bastille, mis en ordre par le Sr. Poinçot, libraire rue de La Harpe*, which includes a six-volume edition of *Histoire de l'admirable dom Quichotte*. This work was not as politically engaged as *Mémoires sur l'établissement de la Banque d'Espagne* by Mirabeau, which was smuggled into France in 1785 by Weissenbruch, a member of the famously seditious Bouillon printing house.<sup>41</sup> These book bans, far from tackling the problem at root, merely publicised Spanish literature even more.

Evidence of the most popular manifestations of Spanish literary culture can meanwhile be found in periodicals such as the conservative *Mémoires de Trévoux* (1701–1767), the *Journal étranger* (1754–1762), *L'Année littéraire* (1754–1790), or the *Nouvelles de la République des lettres et des arts* (1777–1788) which contained, in contrast to other periodicals of the day, a wealth of information about the cultural aspects of the reign of Carlos III.<sup>42</sup> There was a clear explanation for this in the case of the *Memóires*, given that it was the main organ of the French Jesuits and therefore perfectly matched to the Catholicism and conservatism that still held sway in Spain; hence the publicity that it was given. All these publications and others besides, like *L'Espagne littéraire*, constituted a "network" of French journalism with an interest in publicising

40 Robert L. Dawson, *Confiscations at customs: banned books and the French booktrade during the last years of the Ancien Régime* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2006), p. 85: "as wicked, sacrilegious, blasphemous, destroyers of customs and religion, libellous and defamatory of the Spanish nation and its government".

41 Raymond Birn, "Le livre prohibé aux frontières: Bouillon", in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, *Histoire de l'édition française. 11. Le livre triomphant 1660–1830* (Paris, Fayard, 1990), p. 439.

42 Françoise Étienvre, "España en las *Nouvelles de la République des lettres et des arts* (1777–1788)", *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo*, 1–4 (1973), p. 328.

Spanish culture in France.<sup>43</sup> with a view to laying to rest the image of Spain as “plus étrangère qu’aucune autre [nation] et la plus ignorée en France”.<sup>44</sup>

One difference is in any case very important: while the Spanish publishing media needed news from France in order to be up-to-date, the reverse was not true. When the French press did take notice of what was happening in Spain, a certain air of intentionality can be detected in religious terms (*Mémoires de Trévoux*), on a cultural, *anti-philosophes* level (*L’Année littéraire*), or even in terms of personal grudges, as in the case of Fréron (*Journal étranger*) and Voltaire, whose contributions in no way represented Spain as a country of outstanding modernity.

The presence of a Spanish legacy can be gleaned from French periodicals whose main centre of attention was Paris. Let us examine a few of them, directed at a specialist readership from the world of books, to observe the marks that Spain left on the city. Among the first of these we find the *Annales Typographiques*, which informed the public, in octavo pamphlet format, of books printed in foreign countries, including Spain. The first one to appear, in 1757, did in fact provide information about a Spanish book, in the form of respective German and French translations of the *Historia de España* by Juan de Ferreras.<sup>45</sup> One editorial innovation of this French publication was that it was accompanied by rigorous criticism, which describes the Spanish historical work as “la plus étendue & la plus applaudie par les sçavants tant espagnols qu’étrangers”.<sup>46</sup> It is also important to make clear, given the book’s subsequent impact in France, that it constituted an attack on the *Historia de España* by Juan de Mariana.

When it comes to periodicals, one of the first of its type to contain biographies, the duodecimo (small-format) *Bibliothèque annuelle et universelle* (1751–1757), which listed works printed in Europe, mentions in its section on new novels the *Historia del ingenioso caballero Don Quixote de la Manche*,

43 José Checa Beltrán, “Lecturas sobre la cultura española en el siglo XVIII francés”, in José Checa Beltrán (ed.), *Lecturas del legado español en la Europa ilustrada* (Madrid, Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2012), p. 123.

44 Checa Beltrán, “Lecturas”, p. 124: “more foreign than any other [nation], and the most-ignored in France”.

45 *Annales Typographiques*, n.º. L (A Paris, chez Michel Lambert, 1757). The work concerned is: *Allgemeine historie von Spanien, von Joh. Ferreras, mit den zusarzen der Franzosischen nebersetzung nebst der Fortsetzung bis auf gegenwartige zeit, bey Joh. Just. Gebaver*, 1757. In 4º; *Histoire générale d’Espagne de Juan de Ferreras, traduite du françois, avec la continuation jusqu’au temps présent* (A Halle, chez Jean-Just. Gebaver, 1757), In 4º.

46 *Annales*, p. 399: “the most widely found and most widely praised by scholars, both in Spain and abroad”.

published in Madrid and accompanied by a magnificent biography of Cervantes attributable to Gregorio Mayans. This Spanish version was in addition to an illustrated English one printed in London as a pocket edition, produced by various translators and published in four volumes by Motteux.<sup>47</sup>

Hundreds of periodicals were published in Paris at that time, the first of which was the *Journal de Paris*, dating from 1777. Issue number ten of Wednesday 10 January 1781 included, apart from the usual news of the day and in its section entitled "Livres divers", a notice regarding the appearance of a *Collection choisie des plus célèbres auteurs anglois, italiens, espagnols, & allemands*, published in Paris in 1780.<sup>48</sup> Another work that was to have a great impact in Paris and elsewhere, based on its merits as one of the most outstanding publications of the Republic of Letters, was the *Journal des savans*. An examination of several of its issues reveals references to Spanish authors and literary works. These provide us with information on scientific developments in Spain,<sup>49</sup> while other editions of this periodical speak of traditional Hispanic areas of interest such as Muslim Spain,<sup>50</sup> with mentions of the cultural achievements of key players like Cavanilles, Juan Bautista Muñoz or the printing house of Joaquín Ibarra.<sup>51</sup> It was in short a mosaic of things Spanish, which offered Parisians a vision of mediaeval, baroque and neoclassical Spain.

The objective of the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (1775–1789) was in fact to familiarise the public with the best Spanish novels. This publication owed its origins to the Marquis of Paulmy, the bibliophile owner of one of the best libraries in Paris, who hit on the successful idea of offering the public a work that summarised the main novels of all times and from all countries. The aim was to publish six volumes a year. One of these publications was a fortnightly periodical entitled *l'Espagne littéraire*, costing 18 livres in Paris (24 in

47 *Bibliothèque annuelle et universelle*, Tome troisième (A Paris, chez P.G. Le Mercier, 1753).

48 *Journal de Paris*, numéro 10, Mercredi 10 janvier 1781, p. 40.

49 *Journal des savans* (A Paris, De l'imprimerie de l'Institution des sourds-muets, 1792). The January issue announced the publication of a work entitled *Observations de physique & de médecine, faites en differens lieux de l'Espagne*, par M. Thiery (A Paris, 1791).

50 *Journal des savans*, Année 1792. The March issue announced the publication of the book *Gonsalve de Cordove, ou Grenade reconquise*, par M. de Florián (A Paris, 1791).

51 *Journal des savans*, 16 nivose an 5 (1797) (A Paris, De l'imprimerie de Baudouin), pp. 29–30. The introduction speaks of the "state of letters, the sciences and the arts in Europe", with a mention – in the case of Spain – of the advances made in the field of botany by Cavanilles, a follower of Jussieu and Thouin; along with the impending publication of the second volume of the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* by Juan Bautista Muñoz and advances made in the fields of typography and printing by Joaquín Ibarra, with works such as *El Quijote* or the *Salustio*.

the provinces).<sup>52</sup> It could be obtained in the French capital in bookshops such as that of Jacques Lacombe, an art critic, man of letters and publisher of several dictionaries and journals.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, this periodical founded by Bricaire de la Dixmerie in 1774 and published in duodecimo format, which was dedicated solely to Spain, failed to survive its fourth issue or last out the year. This does not detract from the fact that Spain was, after France, the country to which the editors of the *Bibliothèque* dedicated most attention in terms of numbers of pages, with a particular focus on historical novels and love stories.<sup>54</sup>

Novels thus became a clearly defined territory in which it was possible to find references to Spanish works of literature and their authors, and even illustrations supposedly representing the libraries of Spain. It was precisely in the eighteenth century that this approach of treating *romans* as sources of information on reading and literature reached its zenith.<sup>55</sup> Let us examine some examples. A French scholar named Lenglet-Dufresnoy devoted one of his most important texts, *De l'usage des romans* (1734), to the usefulness of such novels. It includes a "Bibliothèque des romans", in which he quotes authors such as Nicolás Antonio and Cervantes, and works like *El Lazarillo de Tormes* and *El Guzmán de Alfarache*.<sup>56</sup> Just a few years later, in 1736, the all-powerful Marquis d'Argens mentioned Cervantes' *Don Quixote* several times in his novel *Mémoires du marquis de Mirmon. Ou le solitaire philosophe*.<sup>57</sup>

This enthusiasm for things Hispanic, and Spanish literature in particular, was echoed in Bout-du-Banc, one of the most important literary salons of the time. Overseen by Jeanne-Françoise Quinault, it was attended by some of the most reputable members of the nobility. One of these was the Count of Caylus, who encouraged one of his fellow attendees, Madame de Graffigny,

52 Anne Sauvy, "Les souscriptions à la *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (1776–1780)", in Frédéric Barbier, Sabine Juratic, Dominique Varry (dir.), *L'Europe et le livre. Réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie XVIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1996), p. 379.

53 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire 8 Q 10A (283). *Journaux pour lesquels on s'abonne, en tout tems, soit pour Paris, soit pour la province* (Chez Lacombe, libraire, à Paris, rue Christine, between 1774 and 1776). He mentions a subscription to: *L'Espagne littéraire*, 24 cahiers par an, de 3 feuilles chacun, pour Paris (18 l.). En Province (24 l.).

54 René Godenne, "L'image de l'Espagne romanesque dans la 'Bibliothèque universelle des romans' (1775–1789)", *Études littéraires*, vol. 2, n° 1 (1969), p. 23.

55 Nathalie Ferrand, *Livre et lecture dans les romans français du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, PUF, 2002).

56 Nicolas Lenglet-Dufresnoy, *De l'usage des romans, où l'on fait voir leur utilité & leurs differens caracteres: avec une bibliothèque des romans* (A Amsterdam, 1734).

57 Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, *Mémoires du marquis de Mirmon. Où le solitaire philosophe. Par Mr. L.M.D* (A Amsterdam, 1736), p. 147.

to put together a compilation of satires and parodies written by members of the society. The result was the *Recueil de ces messieurs* (1745), which included two references to Spain: the *Histoire de Liredi, nouvelle espagnole*, by Caylus; and the *Nouvelle espagnole. Le mauvais exemple produit autant de vertus que de vices*, by Graffigny. This latter work allowed the French lady to deepen her knowledge of Spanish culture, as evidenced by her correspondence published a few years later as the famous *Lettres d'une peruvienne* (1747), inspired by the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega, known as "The Inca".<sup>58</sup>

That same year of 1747 saw the publication of Lesage's famous Paris edition of *Gil Blas de Santillane*, which – in addition to making multiple references to Spanish literature – inspires the imagination by invoking the reading matter of various Spanish characters in the French picaresque tradition. It was certainly the shelves of those libraries that provided some of the Spanish books found in a classic English novel, quickly translated and published "Chez Maradan" in Paris in 1797. This was *Le Moine* by Matthew Gregory Lewis. Censored at the time, it would go on to make certain significant names from Spanish literature more widely known in the French capital, such as in the passage where Ambrosio, who gives the novel its title, finds young Antonia reading a "Bible en espagnol";<sup>59</sup> or in others where his mother Elvira recommends that he read *Amadís de Gaula* and *Tyrant le Blanc*.<sup>60</sup>

One important element in all these novels, which is shared by the other media concerned, is that wherever Spanish authors or works are quoted there is a common tendency, which we might even call "stereotypical", to focus solely on the Spanish literary world of the Golden Age, while ignoring anything produced during the eighteenth century. This is further evidence of how France regarded Spanish idiosyncrasies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the detriment of the Age of the Enlightenment.<sup>61</sup>

This predilection became a fixture of French popular literature thanks to the renowned *Bibliothèque bleue* of Troyes, which collected together classical works of popular fiction from different cultural traditions, including that

58 The main Spanish references in the correspondence of Graffigny can be found in: J.A. Dainard (ed.), *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny*. (15 vols., Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 1997), V. 3 janvier 1744–21 octobre 1744. Lettres 636–76; (15 vols., Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2000), VI. 23 octobre 1744–10 septembre 1745, Lettres 761–896, p. 9. Mme de Graffigny seems to have been familiar with the version of *Quijote* in six volumes, which contained the François Filleau de Saint-Martin translation of Cervantes' novel.

59 Ferrand, *Livre et lecture*, p. 199.

60 Ferrand, *Livre et lecture*, p. 199.

61 Daniel-Henri Pageaux, "Aspects culturels des relations franco-espagnoles au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Études littéraires*, vol. 2, n° 1 (1969), p. 18.

of Spain. One such work that enjoyed great success in the eighteenth century, thanks to its successive reprints, was *L'aventurier Buscon. Histoire facétieuse composée en espagnol par Dom Francisco de Quevedo, chevalier espagnol*, which became part of the famous collection in 1657 thanks to Nicolas II Oudot. It was printed in 1730 by Jean IV Oudot and Jean-Antoine Garnier,<sup>62</sup> who went on to publish it between 1765 and 1780.<sup>63</sup> This work, which took as its model the 1663 French translation of the Spanish original (from 1626) by Quevedo, suffered various cuts and corrections in its most scatological and erotic passages to make it conform to the Catholic ideals of Counter-Reformation Spain.<sup>64</sup> This did not in any way diminish interest in the book however, as it was translated again in 1776 by Rétif de la Bretonne and D'Hermilly.

The question arises as to where else, other than in periodicals and popular collections, Spanish books can be found in eighteenth-century Paris. There were clearly various places, not all of them public or well known, where one could go for this purpose. It was for example possible, at the representative political club of the Girondists, known as the *Cercle Social*, to read Spanish works such as the *Observations or Nouveau voyage en Espagne* by Thierry, which provided precise details of the climate in Spain, along with useful medical information.<sup>65</sup> The Chambre Syndicale of Paris, the main organisation controlling the production of and trade in books in the city, was another place where it was possible to view literature of Spanish origin. One example is provided by the sale that took place on Monday 19 July 1779, of books from the library of a French writer, Marguerite de Lussan. It included works such as a two-volume duodecimo edition of *Nouvelles de Cervantes*, the *Histoire de Don Inigo de Guiposcoa* in the same two-volume format, and a ten-volume quarto edition of *Histoire d'Espagne* by Ferreras. All this was accompanied by informative pamphlets on the latest literary publications. These included information on prices, bookshops and other points of sale; and of where it was possible to find Spanish books such as the works of Cervantes.<sup>66</sup> We should not forget

62 Roger Chartier, "Livres bleus et lectures populaires", in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, *Histoire de l'édition française. II. Le livre triomphant 1660–1830* (Paris, Fayard, 1990), p. 660.

63 Roger Chartier, *Figures de la gueuserie* (Paris, Montalba, 1982), p. 47.

64 Chartier, "Livres bleus", p. 664.

65 *Imprimerie. Librairie. Correspondances. Nouveautés. Catalogue* (Paris. Au bureau du Cercle Social, [1795 ou 1796]), p. 4.

66 *Catalogue des livres nouveaux*. Du Samedi 8 mars 1777. Livres nationaux, avec privilege. He quotes the *Nouvelles espagnoles* by Michel de Cervantes, traduction nouv. avec des notes, ornée de figures en taille-douce: (*Le Jaloux d'Extrémadure*, nouvelle quatrième); par M. le Febvre de Villebrune. In 8°. Br (A Paris, chez la Ve. Duchesne, rue S. Jacques).



that the eighteenth century was also the golden age of the pamphlet, and that periodicals and journals were the favourite ways of disseminating ephemeral but no noteworthy news of the latest literary publications.<sup>67</sup>

These cheap publications were accompanied by rarer and more curious ones which obviously had a different, more select type of clientele. The journals concerned were a response to the emergence of a new group of booksellers: merchants specialising in rare books. This "curiosité en fait de livres", which served to generate much enthusiasm for books in France, is associated with booksellers such as De Bure or Barrois, who – as it happened and as we shall see – conducted a trade in Spanish literature. Initial use is made of the term "rare books" to refer to highly desirable, expensive editions, instead of the "philological rarities" of the Abbé Rivé, librarian of the Duke of Vallière, or Mercier de Saint-Léger.<sup>68</sup>

The rare and highly desirable editions concerned likewise included certain Spanish books. These works were able to achieve very high prices for the period, as was the case of an edition considered unique, and therefore the rarest in the world, of a work by Spanish writer Miguel Servet, *Christiani restitutio*, which was acquired by a French merchant named Claude Gros de Boze.<sup>69</sup> Spanish Bibles were also prized items, particularly certain editions like that of Casiodoro de Reina (1569), known as the "Bear Bible", which we find in various Parisian collections of the eighteenth century, such as that of Louis-Joseph de Bourbon-Condé, Prince of Condé and a general in the army of the French king, whose copy is emblazoned with his coat of arms; or in the library of Charles-Maurice Le Tellier, Archbishop of Reims. The latter copy was donated to the Abbey of Sainte Geneviève in Paris in 1710.<sup>70</sup> This edition is joined by the 1602 Bible of Cipriano de Valera, likewise in the Condé collection,<sup>71</sup> and a Spanish Bible of 1622 which Le Tellier also donated to the same abbey in Paris.<sup>72</sup>

67 Jean-Daniel Candaux, "Le premier âge du Prospectus", in Annie Charon, Claire Lesage and Ève Netchine, *Le livre entre el commerce et l'Histoire des idées. Les Catalogues de libraires (XVe–XIXe siècle)* (Paris, École des Chartes, 2011), pp. 145–186.

68 Jean Viardot, "Livres rares et pratiques bibliophiliques", in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, *Historie de l'édition française. Le livre triomphant, 1660–1830* (Paris, Fayard, 1990), p. 601.

69 Jean Viardot, "La curiosité en fait de livres: phénomène européen ou singularité française?", in *Le livre voyageur. Constitution et dissémination des collections livresques dans l'Europe moderne (1450–1830)* (Paris, Klincksieck, 2000), p. 199.

70 Martine Delaveau and Denise Hillard (ed.), *Bibles imprimées du xve au XVIIIe siècle conservées à Paris* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 2002), p. 56.

71 Delaveau, *Bibles imprimées*, p. 57.

72 Delaveau, *Bibles imprimées*, p. 57.

Book collectors and other interested parties could refer to outstanding bibliographies, compiled by booksellers who knew their market well, from which to obtain information and locate copies of sought-after Spanish works of literature. The most important of these was perhaps the *Bibliographie instructive ou Traité de la connaissance des livres rares et singuliers* (1765) of De Bure, which contained a roster of some fifty Spanish works of *belles lettres*, theology and history. The outstanding works listed include the *Diccionarios* of the Royal Spanish Academy, “fort estimé, exemplaires sont peu communs en France”, and that of Sobrino (Brussels, 1744); the *Biblias* of Cisneros and of Casiodoro de la Reina, better known as the “Bear Bible”; and an important list of historical works containing names like Juan de Mariana, Ambrosio de Morales, Florián de Ocampo and Ferreras, among others. A brief examination of De Bure’s catalogue of rare Spanish books confirms the previously mentioned phenomenon of a virtual absence of anything from eighteenth-century Spain, in favour of an absolute predominance of editions dating from the previous two centuries.

This was precisely the image, like that of the bookseller De Bure, which Boyer d’Argens had created several years previously in his famous *Lettres juives, ou correspondance philosophique* (1738), in which he pointed out that Spanish libraries were, with the exceptions of collections such as those of Solís, Mariana, Herrera or Sandoval, poorly stocked with items of interest to historians.<sup>73</sup> The French philosopher offered an image of a Spain anchored in its traditions; conservative and poorly adapted to modern times.

We can observe this tendency in the *Dictionnaire typographique, historique et critique des livres rares* (1768) by a Paris bookseller named Osmont. It covers a total of 121 Spanish authors, along with 186 works from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. However, it is above all the humanist and baroque work which triumphs over books from the 1700s, representing just 1.2% of the total.<sup>74</sup> A few years later, in 1772, a classic of French bibliography of the sixteenth century was republished in the shape of the famous *Bibliothèques Françaises de la Croix du Maine et de du Verdier*, by Rigoley de Juvigny. This contained a wealth of information on translations from Spanish to French, and also on certain Spanish authors such as Julien de Medrane, who “a écrit un livre partie espagnol, intitulé *La Sylva curiosa*, imprimé à Paris l’an 1583”.<sup>75</sup>

73 José Checa Beltrán, *Demonio y modelo. Dos visiones del legado español en la Francia ilustrada* (Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2014), p. 22.

74 Nicolás Bas Martín, “Libros raros y curiosos españoles en un Catálogo francés del siglo XVIII”, *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*, n° 18 (trimestre 2002), pp. 21–44.

75 Jean-Antoine Rigoley de Juvigny, *Les Bibliothèques françaises de la Croix du Maine et de du Verdier, sieur de Vauprivas* (À Paris, Chez Saillant & Nyon; Chez Michel Lambert, 1772),

This bibliography is a contemporary of the *Bibliographie instructive, ou notice des quelques livres rares, singuliers & difficiles à trouver* (1777) by a Lyon bookseller, François de los Rios, who mentions the widely known *Dictionnaire* by Sobrino (Brussels, 1705), the *Diccionario* of the Royal Spanish Academy (1726), various items of Spanish verse from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Mariana's "The History of Spain" (1592, 1725), and of course the classic works of Cervantes, with *Don Quixote* (London, Tonson, 1738) at the top of the list. The bibliography of De los Ríos is certainly the most abundant when it comes to mentioning Spanish editions of the eighteenth century. We should finally also mention the *Dictionnaire bibliographique, historique et critique des livres rares* (1791) by Anné Duclos, in which Cervantes' *Don Quixote* is once again one of the main protagonists, with no fewer than ten different editions listed; most of them from the eighteenth century.

Bibliographies became vital sources of reference for obtaining information on the world of rare books, from Spain in this case, as did the catalogues of libraries both public and private, of which there was an abundance in eighteenth-century Paris. The more outstanding public ones included those of ecclesiastical institutions, such as the Library of Saint Geneviève, which contained a magnificent stock of around a thousand older Hispanic books, with a clear predominance of editions from the seventeenth century and of works by Cervantes in particular;<sup>76</sup> an author who was bought and read not only in Paris but also in the French provinces.<sup>77</sup> Spanish did in fact enjoy a presence, along with other languages such as Italian, Latin and Greek, in the libraries of certain French collectors;<sup>78</sup> albeit in collections with a predominance of editions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than the eighteenth, and in which Spanish, usually along with Italian, played only a minor role. It therefore comes as no surprise to find that Spanish, along with other modern languages, accounted for no more than 1% of the stocks of the libraries concerned, as

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pp. 13–14: "He wrote a book partly in Spanish, entitled *La Sylva curiosa*, printed in Paris in the year 1583".

76 Odette Bresson, *Catalogue du fonds hispanique ancien (1492–1808) de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris* (Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994).

77 *Ville de Toulouse. Bibliothèque. Catalogue du fonds hispanique 1475–1815. Auteurs et éditions hispaniques* (Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1988). Of the 1,514 editions, 461 were published in Spain, with special mention due to authors such as Cervantes, Sobrino and Mariana; Virginie Ott Schneider, *Catalogue du fonds hispanique ancien de la bibliothèque municipale de Nancy (1477–1810)* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2000). It contains many works by Cervantes, Mariana and Sobrino.

78 Michel Marion, *Collections et collectionneurs de livres au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1999), p. 169.

opposed to English which, by way of translations, was the most significant foreign language.<sup>79</sup> The Spanish works most commonly found in Parisian libraries of the period included the translation of *Don Quixote* in the edition printed in Paris by Foüet in 1620, along with the Rotterdam edition (1694–1696) of *Histoire d'Espagne* by Juan de Mariana, a three-volume work in duodecimo format.<sup>80</sup>

The botanist Cavanilles mentioned in his correspondence with the Valencian Jesuit Juan Andrés the importance of certain Parisian libraries, among them that of the poet Claris de Florián, who “tiene muy buena biblioteca española”.<sup>81</sup> This is not surprising, considering his mother's Spanish origins, which he promoted with a passion by translating *Don Quixote* and offering the French public the best of Spanish literature and history from the Golden Age, as also evident in his biography entitled *Mémoires d'un jeune espagnol*.

Starting with Florian's library, a brief look at some of the best private libraries in the Paris of the Enlightenment confirms the predominance of Spanish works from the Golden Age. The most prominent of these, and an emblematic point of reference for any bibliophile, is surely the splendid library of the Duke of la Vallière, containing more than 30,000 volumes, whose catalogue was compiled in 1783 by the person who knew it best: its librarian the *Abbé* Rive.<sup>82</sup> It contains almost fifty Spanish works, most of them dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Items of particular note include various versions of *La Celestina* (1519, 1527, 1535, 1563), an Italian edition (from 1538) of *Tirant lo Blanch*, an incunable by Francesc Eiximenis (1478), various scientific works by Arnau de Vilanova, several seventeenth-century editions of Mariana's *History of Spain*, the works of Antonio Agustín and a fine set of Spanish bibliographies, headed by the *Bibliotheca Hispana* of Nicolás Antonio, published in Rome in the seventeenth century by Manuel Martí, followed by the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu* (1676) of Pedro de Ribadeneira and Casiri's *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana* (1760). In fact a good selection of Spanish

79 Dominique Varry, “Grandes collections et bibliothèques des élites”, in Claude Jolly (dir.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. II. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530–1789* (Paris, Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 2008), p. 316.

80 Michel Marion, *Les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1978), p. 164.

81 ARJB (Archivo del Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid), Legajos 5–6. *Letter from Cavanilles to Juan Andrés*. Yssy, 26 November 1784, p. 20: “having a very good Spanish library”.

82 *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de La Vallière. Première partie contenant les manuscrits, les premières éditions, les livres imprimés sur vélin & sur grand papier, les livres rares, & précieux par leur belle conservation, les livres d'estampes, &c. dont la vente se fera dans les premiers jours du mois de décembre 1783 par Guillaume de Bure, fils aîné* (À Paris, chez Guillaume De Bure, 1783).

books sold at various auctions, most of which were acquired by the Marquis of Paulmy, went on to form part of a library consisting of more than 50,000 items, which were in turn added to the initial stock of the Arsenal Library in Paris.

Together with the library of La Vallière, which was more classical in its approach, we find other important libraries containing more contemporary Spanish books, such as those of the librarian himself, the Abbé Rive, whose catalogue of 1793 included, among other items, the phenomenally famous *Diccionario* (1769) of Sobrino, amended and extended by Francisco Cormón, along with the *Essay on the alphabets of unknown inscriptions on the medals and monuments of Spain*, which was printed in Madrid in 1752.<sup>83</sup> The shelves of the magnificent library of the Baron d'Holbach, whose salon was attended by the *philosophes* and other notable habitués of eighteenth-century Paris, like Franklin, Hume or Adam Smith, among others, were likewise stocked with such Spanish books as the 1744 Hague edition of *Don Quixote*, along with a carefully selected set of histories of Spain, headed once again by that of Mariana, and biographies of illustrious individuals such as Cardinal Alberoni, Cisneros, the Duke of Riperdá and others.<sup>84</sup> We should finally mention the library of Malesherbes, the former director of the Paris *Librairie*, whose shelves housed *Observations sur l'article Espagne* (1780) by Cavanilles, various works on economics, such as those of Bernardo de Ulloa, a wealth of biographical works dedicated to Germana de Foix, Granvela and others, and a slightly out-of-place roster of books on the island of Minorca.<sup>85</sup>

The book by Cavanilles mentioned above was also to be found in the extraordinary library of one of Paris's leading printers, Firmin Didot, who sold several important works by the Valencian botanist. This was one of the few Spanish works in his collection, along with the poem *La música* (1779) by Iriarte, the famous Ibarra edition of *Don Quixote* (1780), two translations from Spanish (of 1700 and 1741) of the same work, by Filleau and Saint Martin respectively; and a highly personal 1737 translation from Spanish, by the Count of Caylus, of *Tirant lo Blanch*, with a false London (instead of Paris) imprint.<sup>86</sup>

There are occasions when current auctions provide pleasant surprises, which help us to fill in certain gaps, such as these concerning Parisian libraries

83 *Catalogue de la bibliothèque des livres de feu l'Abbé Rive* (A Marseille, de l'imprimerie de Rochebrun et Mazet, 1793).

84 *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron d'Holbach*, (A Paris, Chez de Bure l'aîné, 1789).

85 *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Chrétien-Guillaume Lamoignon-Malesherbes* (A Paris, Chez J.L. Nyon l'aîné, 1797).

86 *Catalogue des livres rares, précieux, et très-bien conditionnés du cabinet de M. Firmin Didot* (À Paris, Chez De Bure, 1810).

and Spanish literature. These include the auction of France's best library of historical works in private hands, that of the Dukes of Luynes and Chevreuse and their château at Dampierre on the outskirts of Paris. The collection was accumulated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One curious aspect of the auctioned lots is that they include a large amount of military correspondence from the campaigns of the War of the Spanish Succession, along with a virtually unique set of nineteen original watercolours of the *Fêtes publiques données par la ville de Paris pour le mariage de Marie-Thérèse d'Espagne et du Dauphin les 23 et 26 février 1745*, and above all, lot number 196, consisting of the rich set of Spanish books listed below.<sup>87</sup>

- Cardonne. *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la domination des arabes*. A Paris, chez Saillant, 1765. 3 volumes in-12 veau blond, dos à nerfs, pièces d'armes Luynes.
- *Histoire des Révolutions d'Espagne*. A La Haye, chez Jacob Stopp, 1724. 5 volumes in-12 veau blond aux armes Luynes, sur les plats, dos à nerfs, pièces d'armes Luynes.
- Montgon, Abbé de. *Mémoires*. 1748, Lausanne, chez Marc-Michel Bousquet, 1752. 7 volumes in-12 veau blond aux armes Luynes, dos à nerfs ornés.
- Bacallar, Vincent et Sanna, marquis de Saint-Philippe. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Espagne sous le règne de Philippe v*. A Amsterdam, chez Zacharie Chatelain, 1756. 4 volumes in-12 veau blond, dos lisse; une carte dépliant par Nolin.
- *Lettres du cardinal Mazarin où l'on voit le secret de la négociation de la Paix des Pirenées*. Nouvelle édition. A Amsterdam, chez Henri Wetstein, 1693. 2 volumes in-12 veau blond aux armes de Marie-Charles-Louis d'Albert de Luynes, dos à nerfs ornés, pièces d'armes Luynes, fers frottés.
- Marsollier, Mr. de. *Histoire du ministère du cardinal Ximénés*. Nouvelle édition. A Paris, chez Louis Dupuis, 1739. 2 volumes in-12 veau brun, dos à nerfs ornés.
- *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du cardinal de Granvelle*. A Paris, chez Guillaume Desprez, 1753. 2 volumes in-12 veau brun, dos à nerfs ornés.
- *Entretiens dans lesquels on traite des entreprises de l'Espagne ...* A La Haye, chez A. de Rogissart, 1719. In-12 veau brun aux armes Luynes, dos à nerfs orné, reliure frottée, armes en partie effacées.
- Mariana. *Histoire générale d'Espagne*. A Paris, chez Pralard, 1723. 9 volumes in-12 veau brun, dos à nerfs ornés, reliure restaurée, usagée.

87 Sotheby's, *Bibliothèque des Ducs de Luynes. Château de Dampierre. Première Partie*. Vente les 29 & 30 avril de 2013. Lot 196.

We can deduce from the above results the particular interest, on the part of the Dukes of Luynes, for both Spanish history and, which was unusual for the time, eighteenth-century Spain. This trend was also detectable in the auctions of the day, such as one held on Monday 16 March 1750 at the Paris bookshop of Morel l'aîné. The purpose of the sale was to dispose of the books of M. du Fourny, an auditor of accounts, whose collection included "Histoires d'Allemagne, de France, d'Espagne, etc.", along with "livres Italiens, Espagnols, etc."<sup>88</sup> This practice of holding auctions, which was fairly common in Paris, occasionally brought to light a desirable example of Spanish literature.

Another way of tracing the presence of Spanish books in the Paris of the 1700s is to examine *Ex Libris* labels and bindings, which allow us to identify the owners of some of the Spanish works of literature concerned. This is a complex task, but one which occasionally delivers satisfactory results. We have for example found a collection of editions of *Don Quixote* from the early eighteenth century, with a contemporary *Ex Libris* label containing an engraving of the period and printed with "N.F.B. Lesage", along with a handwritten text that reads "Mlle. Laffitte à l'hotel de Bretagne, rue de Richelieu".<sup>89</sup> It all appears to indicate that a certain M. Lesage, who lived in eighteenth-century Paris, acquired a diverse collection of works by Cervantes for his private library. Even clearer is the *Ex Libris* label on a copy of a work by Bartolomé de las Casas, *La decouverte des Indes Occidentales* (Paris, 1697), the binding of which includes the coat of arms of Gabriel Nicolas de la Reynie, who was "lieutenant général de police de la ville de Paris" from 1667 to 1697.<sup>90</sup>

The combination of *Ex Libris* label and binding sometimes allows us to identify the owner of the Spanish books that concern us in this case, based on the clues (like seals, arms and rosettes) that they contain. Such is the case with the magnificent edition in *maroquin vert*, a sign of distinction in its own right, of the *Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (The Hague, 1744), bearing the coat of arms of the Princess of Lamballe (1749–1792), an intimate friend of Queen Marie Antoinette, whose library was in contrast

88 *Les affiches de Paris, avis divers, &c.* Du lundy 16 mars 1750.

89 Hôtel Drouot, *Bibliothèque d'un château en Provence et à divers. Voyages – Découvertes – Atlas – Americana.* mercredi 24 avril. Lot n° 215. Miguel de Cervantes, *Histoire de l'admirable Don Quichotte de la Manche*. 6 volumes gd in-12. Les 3 premiers volumes sont s.l. s.n. s.d. Le volume 4 à Paris chez Hilaire Foucault s.d. Le volume 5 à Paris chez Claude Barbin s.d. Le volume 6 s.l. s.n. s.d. (continuation).

90 Collection Jean-Paul Morin, *Voyages-Explorations. Livres, manuscrits, estampes, dessins, photographies, objets d'ethnographie.* Pierre Bergé & Associés. Paris, vendredi 4 novembre 2011. n° 36. p. 68.

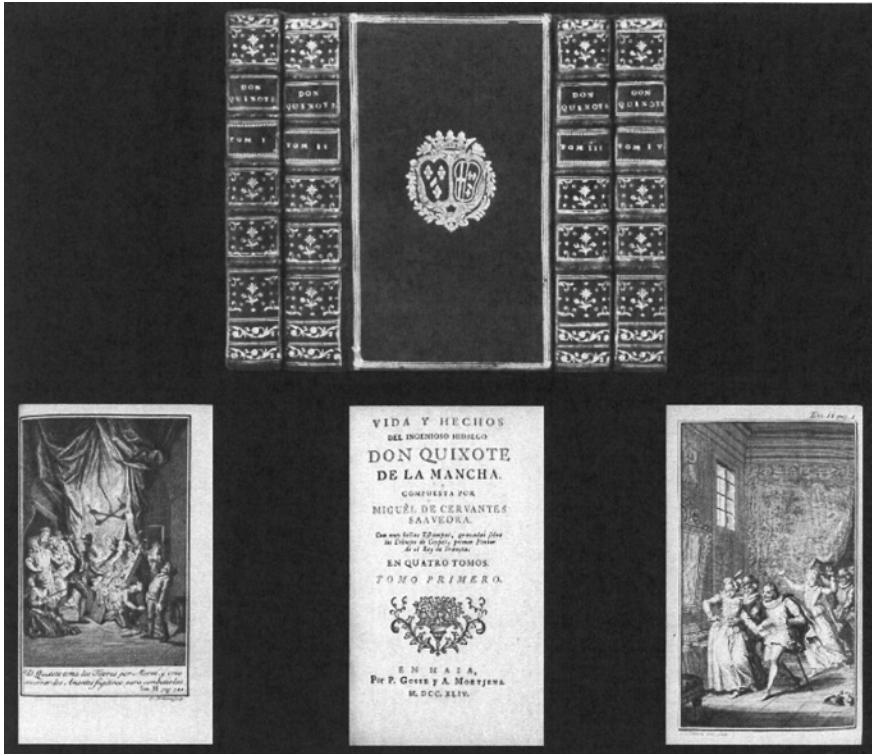


FIGURE 3 Copy of "Don Quixote" (from 1744), bearing the coat of arms of the Princess of Lamballe. Librairie Camille Sourget.

rather small.<sup>91</sup> It is curious to find a French seal on the binding of another copy of *Don Quixote* (The Hague, 1746), that of a well-positioned lady of the court of Louis xv, his mistress Madame de Pompadour no less, whose coat of arms appears on a beautifully bound edition in *maroquin vert*.<sup>92</sup>

Stocks of Spanish books are in general a rare find when it comes to the libraries of eighteenth-century Paris. This trend was also apparent in other French cities, such as Lyon, that were historically linked to the Spanish world

91 Librairie Camille Sourget. Miguel de Cervantes, *Vida y Hechos del Ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, compuesta por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra con muy bellas estampas gravadas sobre los dibujos de Coypel, primer pintor de el Rey de Françia* (En Haia por P. Gosse y A. Moetjens, 1744).

92 Vèrène de Diesbach-Soultrait, *Six siècles de littérature française xviie siècle. Bibliothèque Jean Bonna* (Gèneve-Paris, Jean Genoud, 2007). Miguel de Cervantes, *Les principaux aventures de l'admirable Don Quichotte, représentées en figures par Coypel* (La Haye, Pierre de Hondt, 1746), p. 37.



of publishing, but which now, at the height of the age of the Enlightenment, expressed less interest in anything produced beyond the Pyrenees. One example of this phenomenon is the library of Pierre Adamoli, an important bibliophile, antiquarian and archaeologist, who managed to create one of the best libraries in the region, containing more than six thousand printed volumes and manuscripts. Of all these works, only nine were from Spain, with just eight bearing a Spanish imprint.<sup>93</sup> These included the celebrated 1746 Hague edition of *Don Quixote* and also a notable incunable: *Speculum vitae humanae* (c. 1472), by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo.

We cannot conclude this Spanish-based survey of French libraries, with particular reference to those of Paris, without considering the Spanish books owned by the *philosophes* of greatest repute, Voltaire and Montesquieu. The former, whose book collection was acquired by Catherine the Great of Russia, included a considerable roster of Spanish works and authors. Historical works that stand out in this respect include the *Relaciones* of Antonio Pérez (1598), the famous *Histoire des Indes* (1582) by Las Casas, the *Histoire de la conquête d'Espagne par les mores* (1680) by Miguel de Luna, the *Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne* (1691) by Madame d'Aulnoy, the *Histoire du cardinal Ximénès* (1693) by Fléchier, the *Annales d'Espagne* (1741) by Álvarez de Colmenar, the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire d'Espagne* (1756) by Bacallar and Saña, and the *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de Espagne* (1758) by Desormeaux, among others. The list of literary works includes *Visions* (1686) by Quevedo, two editions of *Histoire de don Quichotte*, published in Brussels (in 1617) and Lyon (in 1723) respectively; the *Diccionario* (of 1751), Sobrino's *Grammaire* (of 1703) and the *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús* (1740). Finally, notable works of travel literature include those relating the visits to Spain of François Bertout (1669) and Labat (1730).<sup>94</sup>

The library of Montesquieu likewise contains a wealth of Spanish books, albeit lesser-known works.<sup>95</sup> The list of more popular titles includes *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1591) by José de Acosta, the *Histoire generale des voyages et conquêtes des castillans dans les isles et terre ferme des Indes occidentales* (1671) by Antonio de Herrera; along with works by the

93 Yann Sordet, *L'amour des livres au siècle des Lumières. Pierre Adamoli et ses collections* (Paris, École des Chartes, 2001), p. 73.

94 M.P. Alekseev, *Bibliothèque de Voltaire: catalogue des livres*. Gosudarstvennaja Publichnaja Biblioteka Imeni M.E. Saltykova-Šchedrina (Moskva [u.a.], Izdat. Akad. Nauk SSSR, 1961).

95 Louis Desgraves and Catherine Volpillac-Augier and Françoise Weil, "Le Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Montesquieu à La Brède", *Cahiers Montesquieu*, n° 4 (1999).



FIGURE 4 *Ex Libris* label from a Spanish book of the eighteenth century, bearing the inscription "N.F.B. Lesage". Hôtel Drouot, Bibliothèque d'un château en Provence et à divers. Mercredi 24 avril. Lot n° 215.

Abbé Vayrac, *État present de l'Espagne* (1718), and Juan de Mariana, who is represented not by his widely known *Historia*, but by *Tractatus septem* (1609).

The corresponding book collections of Voltaire and Montesquieu were, with respect to their Spanish content, a true reflection of the French view of Spain, with a predominance of works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We likewise notice both a total absence of authors and works from the eighteenth century and an absolute dominance of non-Spanish centres of publication when it comes to the printing of Spanish books. The case of Voltaire is paradigmatic in this respect, as not a single one of the Spanish works in his collection bears a Spanish publisher's imprint. As a final note, we should point out that both collections are characterised by the works concerned

being French translations rather than original Spanish editions. This version of Spanish culture appears, in short, to stop with the Golden Age, thereby ignoring the cultural and scientific advances of the Enlightenment.

Along with the libraries of the day, book auctions also formed part of the highly active literary world of Paris. This was especially true after the outbreak of the Revolution, which flooded the city with books obtained from the collections of members of the nobility and clergy, which were now being nationalised and sold. It was possible to find Spanish books at these sales; some of them classics and some of them "rare and singular", as reflected in titles that included *Celestina* (1543), the works of Góngora (1636), or Lope de Vega (1614);<sup>96</sup> along with more modern items such as the already classic histories of Spain by Mariana, Ferreras, and Juan Álvarez de Colmenar, among others.<sup>97</sup> There was likewise no lack of grammars and dictionaries, such as those of Covarrubias (1611) or Sobrino (1721), to name but two.<sup>98</sup> This roster of authors appears to a greater or lesser extent at the majority of auctions held in Paris throughout the eighteenth century.

Their works would go on to add to the *cabinets choisis et curieux* that made Paris the city of the book. It was a place where Spanish literature, generally classic works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (i.e. the biographies most coveted by collectors) were not difficult to find. These works of reference were preferred to anything from the eighteenth century, thereby reducing the range to Spanish historical or biographical works. The wider public was meanwhile familiar with adaptations of classics like *Don Quixote*, thanks to affordable pocket editions (in duodecimo format), or from engravings, songs, poems and comedies that perpetuated a baroque image of Spain. The impression given is that the more modern version of Spain, that of the eighteenth century and its great scientists, historians, economists and intellectuals in general, simply stopped at the border.

It was possible at a given moment and in a few select places to hear voices, which were by definition privileged and few, speak of some Spanish work

96 *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. Sandras. La vente se fera en sa maison* (A Paris, 1771).

97 *Catalogue des livres provenant du fonds d'ancienne librairie du citoyen J.G. Mérigot, dont la vente se fera le 24 frimaire an IX* (A Paris, Chez Guillaume de Bure l'aîné, et J.G. Mérigot, 1800); *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Herbert. Dont la vente se fera en détail le lundi 3 juillet 1758* (A Paris, chez Pissot, 1758).

98 Yolanda Clemente San Román, "Repertorios Bibliográficos (XVIII): catálogos de subastas de las colecciones privadas de Charles Ferrary y de Pichault de la Martinière", *Pliegos de bibliofilia*, 25 (2004), pp. 45–60.

or author. The venues in question were the celebrated *salons*, most of them held by women, which brought together the city's cultural grandees. The conversations held there, duly moderated by a lady of high repute, became the *leitmotiv* of the meetings concerned. We know for example that the *salons* held at the Hôtel de Rambouillet by Madame de Rambouillet included discussions on the novel, thereby helping to inspire a wider range of ethical and aesthetic approaches, with particular reference to the Italian and Spanish novel which had contributed to the education of the French nobles concerned.<sup>99</sup> One of the objects of admiration of this *cabinet* was the Spanish literature of the previous century. This became a model of noble aspiration to heroism in which the heroes concerned appeared immune to the weaknesses typical of tales of chivalry, and where love is idealised in works such as *Diana* by Montemayor or Lope de Vega's *Arcadia*.<sup>100</sup> These conversations were then set down in writing in the form of civilised and erudite correspondence, in which educated ladies gave free rein to their intellectual concerns. This once again leads to references, albeit very scarce ones, to some Spanish literary work or other. We find a specific example in a letter that Madame Du Deffand wrote to Walpole in 1766, in which she says, "I send you an account of what happened in Zaragoza", in a clear allusion to the *Extrait d'une lettre de Saragosse du 8 avril 1766*, which described the serious incidents arising from widespread rioting in the Spanish city of Saragossa (Zaragoza).<sup>101</sup>

This is not the only correspondence containing a mention of Spanish literature. It is possible to find, in the extensive correspondence of Voltaire, some brief allusion or other to Spanish books. A specific example can be found in his correspondence with D'Alembert, in which he confesses to possessing virtually no Spanish books other than "*Quichotte* and Antonio de Solís". He justifies this absence on the basis of his poor command of the Spanish language, which only allows him to access works such as "*le Château de l'ame, de sainte Thérèse*".<sup>102</sup>

Diderot meanwhile mentions, in his letters to his mistress Sophie Volland, one of the *salons*, which he describes as "elegant luncheons", that he attended

99 Benedetta Craveri, *La cultura de la conversación* (Madrid, Siruela, 2003), p. 67.

100 Craveri, *La cultura*, p. 68.

101 Benedetta Craveri, *Madame Du Deffand y su mundo* (Madrid, Siruela, 2005), p. 262. Letter dated 16 April 1766.

102 *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire avec des remarques et des notes historiques, scientifiques et littéraires. Correspondance avec D'Alembert* (Paris, Baudouin Frères, 1828), p. 8: "The *Château de l'ame*, of Saint Teresa".

at the house of Baron Gleichen, the Danish Ambassador to France, where those present discussed Spanish literature. More specifically: "el barón nos hizo el análisis de uno de los mejores autos sacramentales a los que había asistido",<sup>103</sup> before going on to describe:

There was a temple on the stage, with a representation of the holy sacrament and an entire people praying. The scenery changed to show a fair and its stalls, including three for, respectively, Death, Sin and in between them Jesus Christ. Each one showed off its wares; each one tried to bring in the crowds. Sin managed to do so, as did Death, but the poor stallholder Jesus cut a solitary figure. Tired of his inability to attract the multitude, he grew angry. The scene changed again to see Him armed with a whip, beside the Virgin Mary, likewise brandishing a whip, both dancing in their pursuit of Death, Sin and all their adherents.<sup>104</sup>

This theatrical staging was in no way to the liking of the Papal Nuncio, who demanded the immediate cancellation of the play. Diderot commented on the episode with a certain touch of humour, noting that "y es que lo que hoy nos hace reír en otro tiempo hizo llorar; y lo que hoy al español lo hace llorar un día lo hará reír".<sup>105</sup> These words, in combination with the comments already mentioned, are likely to have reflected what was happening in the Parisian bookshops of the day, which necessarily adapted to prevailing tastes, emerging as a showcase for the Spanish books concerned. This involves turning our attention to the bookshops that dotted the teeming city's streets.

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103 Denis Diderot, *Cartas a Sophie Volland* (Barcelona, Acantilado, 2010), p. 363: "The baron gave us an analysis of one of the best sacramental acts that he had attended".

104 Diderot, *Cartas*, pp. 363–364: "En el escenario se veía un templo, una exposición del santo sacramento y todo un pueblo orando. Cambiaba el decorado, y el escenario mostraba una feria con sus puestos, entre los que había tres que eran respectivamente el puesto de la Muerte, el del Pecado y, entre los dos, el puesto de Jesucristo. Cada uno lucía su muestra; cada uno trataba de atraer a los clientes. El Pecado los tenía, y la Muerte también; pero el pobre comerciante Jesús estaba más solo que la una. Cansado de no poderse estrenar, montaba en cólera. Cambiaba el decorado, y se le veía armado con un látigo, junto a la Virgen María armada con otro látigo, bailando y persiguiendo a la Muerte, al Pecado y a todos sus clientes".

105 Diderot, *Cartas*, p. 364: "and what makes us laugh today once made us cry; and what makes the Spaniard cry now will one day make him laugh".

### 1.3 A Showcase for Spanish Books: The Bookshops of Paris

It is clear, on the basis of the evidence already examined, that various things Spanish could be found in Paris in one way or another. Some witnesses testify to this fact.

There is ceaseless talk of Spain in Paris, and yet Spain remains as little known as Japan. It is a nation; it is a government that is like no other.<sup>106</sup>

Spain certainly had several peculiarities that made it unique. Certain subjects were always likely to come up in any consideration of the country. The Inquisition, the power of the clergy, the open nature of its people, its climate, its folklore, and on numerous occasions, its ignorance, were all traits that characterised the country in French eyes. All this was echoed in significant works such as the *Encyclopédie*, both in its first edition (1752–1772) by Diderot and D'Alembert, with articles “on Spain” signed by such individuals as Louis Jaucourt or Marmontel, among others;<sup>107</sup> and also in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782) by Panckoucke, most widely known for the sad episode relating to the article entitled “Espagne” by Masson de Morvilliers. This affair, far from being detrimental to Spain, publicised the country as never before, which in our case may help to explain the presence of Spanish literature in eighteenth-century Paris. Masson praised, in his incendiary article on Spanish literature, only the authors of the Golden Age, while reducing the eighteenth century exclusively to the figure of Ulloa.<sup>108</sup> In the opinion of the French geographer, Spain lacked scientific contemporaries of any standing.

Even more surprising was the version of Masson's article that was translated into Spanish by Julián de Velasco and included in the first volume of the *Enciclopedia metódica* (1792), printed by Sancha. This translation, deliberately amended and “sweetened”, amounted to a robust defence of things Spanish, although – paradoxically – it almost totally ignored the eighteenth century just as the French version had. Only the names of Feijoo and Ulloa were mentioned

106 Jean René Aymes, *La guerra de España contra la Revolución Francesa (1793–1795)* (Alicante, Instituto de Cultura “Juan Gil-Albert”, 1991), p. 22: “En París se habla sin cesar de España, y España queda tan poco conocida como el Japón. Es una nación, es un gobierno que no se parece a ningún otro”.

107 Françoise Etiennev, “Avant Masson, Jaucourt: l'Espagne dans l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et D'Alembert”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, tome 104, n° 1 (2002), pp. 161–180.

108 François Lopez, *Juan Pablo Forner y la crisis de la conciencia española en el siglo XVIII* (Salamanca, Junta de Castilla y León, 1999), p. 346.

in a narrative that was otherwise dominated by the Spanish Golden Age.<sup>109</sup> There is a need to analyse native culpability in this dissemination of Spanish Baroque to the detriment of the Spain of the Enlightenment.

As it had much to do with the resulting damage to the knowledge of Spanish literature in Paris, given the circulation of the *Encyclopédie*, although the opinion was not shared by all French intellectuals. Indeed just a few years after this sad episode, whose start was triggered by the governing apparatus of the Count of Floridablanca, an anonymous French author who signed himself "Abbé de S.L\*\*\*\*", who was actually, as all evidence indicates, the prominent Abbé de Saint Leger and librarian of Saint Geneviève, wrote a note to the *Journal Général de France* in which he fiercely attacked the scant attention that the press and the French Republic of Letters gave to Spanish literature, particularly that of the eighteenth century.

The Abbé de Saint Léger now tried to fill the vacuum left by Masson. The former shared the latter's enthusiasm for matters literary and bibliographical; an interest shared with the no less prominent *littérato* and fellow Abbé Juan Andrés. The French Abbé complained that "la littérature & les livres espagnols sont fort peu connus en France, & à Paris même",<sup>110</sup> not because of the absence of such editions in Spain, but rather because of the "voluntary" ignorance of the French regarding whatever was published beyond the Pyrenees. Certain criticism arose in the case of Saint Léger's praise for one of the emblematic works of bibliography of Spain of the Enlightenment, the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana* by the Maronite Casiri, which based on previously unknown manuscripts exhumed from the superb library of El Escorial became a model of the genre. He lamented that this work was barely known in France, and even he was unaware of the publication of its second volume. This incident was not something isolated, but rather part of a policy that sought to deny the innovative nature of anything published in Spain. As the Frenchman himself said:

And many are the excellent works that have appeared over the last 20 years in Spain, which are known here only by their titles, and for which we search in vain in our great libraries.<sup>111</sup>

109 Clorinda Donato and Ricardo López, *Enlightenment Spain and the "Encyclopédie Méthodique"* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2015), pp. 96–225.

110 *Journal general de France*, Du mardi 3 avril 1787, p. 159: "Spanish letters and literature are little-known in France, and likewise in Paris".

111 *Journal*, p. 159: "Et combien d'autres ouvrages excellens ont paru, depuis 20 ans en Espagne, qui sont à peine connus ici par le titre, & que l'on chercheroit en vain dans nos grandes bibliothèques".

The Abbé and librarian tried to apply this desire to make known the best of Spanish literature by translating another great bibliography of the 1700s, the *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del reynado de Carlos III* by Juan Sempere y Guarinos. All this was part of his efforts to demonstrate that “l’Espagne a produit en effet d’excellens ouvrages depuis que Charles III est monté sur le trône”.<sup>112</sup>

The inevitable question to ask is if the bookshops of Paris heeded the Abbé’s words, or whether the words of Masson finally held sway. We can do so by identifying the bookshops in which a normal citizen of eighteenth-century Paris would be most likely to find works of Spanish literature.

The first point to bear in mind is that not all the booksellers of eighteenth-century Paris carried stocks of Spanish books. Those who did might offer them via their catalogue in various ways; possibly in a section entitled “Livres espagnols”, or scattered among various categories, or as French translations.<sup>113</sup> This work focuses solely on the first case. We have been able to identify a total of nine booksellers whose trade involved Spanish literary works, accounting for some two hundred books between them. The main source has been the catalogues of eighteenth-century Parisian booksellers conserved in the archives of the French National Library.<sup>114</sup>

The first task consists of gaining a deeper knowledge of the booksellers involved in this trade, and then analysing in detail the Spanish books concerned, before finally verifying the corresponding channels of distribution with a view to comprehending how they formed part of this overall world of publishing.

The list of booksellers is headed, by virtue of his own merits, by Antoine-Claude Briasson. He is, as one of the publishers of the *Encyclopédie*, a key figure when it comes to understanding the world of books in eighteenth-century

112 Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de los mejores escritores del reynado de Carlos III* (Madrid, 1787), T.IV, p. III: “Spain has indeed produced excellent works since Charles III ascended to the throne”.

113 One example of this type of catalogue is that of the following bookseller: *Catalogue des livres qui se vendent Chez Cl. Herissant, imprimeur-libraire* (À Paris, Rue Notre-Dame, à la Croix d’or & aux trois Vertus). [Paris, Cl. Herissant, 1748–1749]. The translations contained in it include: *Les oeuvres composées en espagnol, par le R.P. Louis de Grenade, de l’ordre de S. Dominique*, traduites en françois, in-fol.; *Le Guide des pêcheurs composé en espagnol, par le R.P. Louis de Grenade de l’ordre de S. Dominique*, traduit de nouveau en françois, in 8°; *Oeuvres spirituelles de Dom Jean de Palafox*, traduites de l’espagnol en françois, in 18°. Avec fig. p. 8.

114 Claire Lesage and Ève Netchine and Veronique Sarrazin, *Catalogues de libraires 1473–1810* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2006).



TABLE 2     *Bookshops with stocks of Spanish literature.*

Bookseller	No. of works
Antoine Claude Briasson	73
Guillaume De Bure	68
Louis Théophile Barrois	23
Jean Jombert	8
Gabriel Martin	8
Marcel Prault de Saint-Germain	7
Guillaume Cavelier	2
Frères Levrault	2
Pierre Guillyn	1
Barthélemy Girin	?

France. Before embarking on this grand enterprise, Briasson began his career as a bookseller in 1724, by opening a shop on the legendary Rue St. Jacques. His bookshop, nicknamed “à la Science”, quickly attracted the interest of the Republic of Letters when he began, in 1727, to print the *Mémoires des hommes illustres de la République des lettres*. His fame was to transcend France and reach as far as Russia, where he would take up the post, in 1737, of intermediary between the French Academies and the Academy of St Petersburg. He went on to attain the pinnacle of the book trade back in Paris in 1768, when he became a trustee of the of the city’s booksellers’ guild.

In his role as a bookseller, or as “the corsair of the bookshops” as he came to be known, he participated in the main publishing companies associated with French critical bibliography. It was in this capacity that he published *Journal de Trevoux*, the *Journal de la librairie* (1763–1789), and the famous *Annales Typographiques ou notice du progrès des connoissances humaines* (1759–1763), among other works, in the first volume of which Briasson indicated that all the foreign books listed in the publication could also be found in his bookshop.<sup>115</sup> He also attempted, in cooperation with fellow booksellers Le Breton and David l’aîné, to publish a *Bibliothèque générale ou essai de littérature universelle*.

115 N.A. Kopanév, “Le libraire-éditeur parisien Antoine Claude Briasson et la culture russe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle”, in J.P. Poussou and A. Mézin and Y. Perret-Gentil (ed.), *L’influence française en Russie au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, Institut d’Études Slaves, Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), p. 188.

The available details therefore provide more than enough evidence to understand both the literary fame that he achieved and the great economic wealth that he was able to amass. His bookshop was one of the most important in Paris, with a stock of up to three thousand works in French and Latin. His comfortable economic position allowed him to finance part of the *Encyclopédie* venture, along with his aforementioned partners Le Breton, David and Durand. He became part of this project more for profit than for purely intellectual reasons, despite sponsoring some of the literary activities of Diderot and D'Alembert. This friendship did not prevent him mixing with members of the opposite camp, that of the anti-*philosophes*, which included Jean-Henri-Samuel Formey, the permanent secretary of the Berlin Academy of Science and Literature.

The correspondence between Briasson and Formey was an attempt to create mutual benefits, as the Parisian bookseller sounded out possible sales of the *Encyclopédie* in Prussia, along with other books,<sup>116</sup> and the Huguenot Berliner sought to publish his own works in France and acquire certain French books.<sup>117</sup> Bibliography and bibliophilia appeared to come together in this epistolary relationship, in which the Spanish book was curiously not a foreign element.

Formey was in fact the author of an interesting work entitled *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque peu nombreuse, mais choisie* (1756). This manual, which was an *à la mode* account on how to form a *cabinet choisie*, curiously also contained a "Lettre de M. La Mothe Le Vayer, sur les moyens de dresser une bibliothèque d'une centaine de livres seulement".<sup>118</sup> This small library could not be complete without the *Vocabulaire espagnol latin* by Covarrubias, "ou de Nebricensis, pour ce qui touche la langue espagnole".<sup>119</sup> His recommendation in the field of philosophy meanwhile was that one should possess the works of R. Llull. Allusions to *Don Quixote* and to the publication of certain *Nouvelles espagnols* by Scarron, complete this list of brief mentions of Spanish authors

116 Frank A. Kafker and Jeff Loveland, "Antoine-Claude Briasson et l'*Encyclopédie*", *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie*, Numéro 35 (2003), p. 134.

117 M. Fontius and R. Geisslger and Jens Häselser, *Correspondance passive de Formey. Antoine-Claude Briasson et Nicolas-Charles-Joseph Trublet. Lettres adressees à Jean-Henri-Samuel Formey (1739-1770)* (Paris, Champion-Slatkine, 1996), p. 13.

118 *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque peu nombreuse, mais choisie* (A Berlin, Chez Haude et Spener, 1756), p. IV: "Letter from M. La Mothe Le Vayer, on the means of creating a library of just one hundred books".

119 *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque peu nombreuse, mais choisie* (A Berlin, Chez Haude et Spener, 1756), p. x.

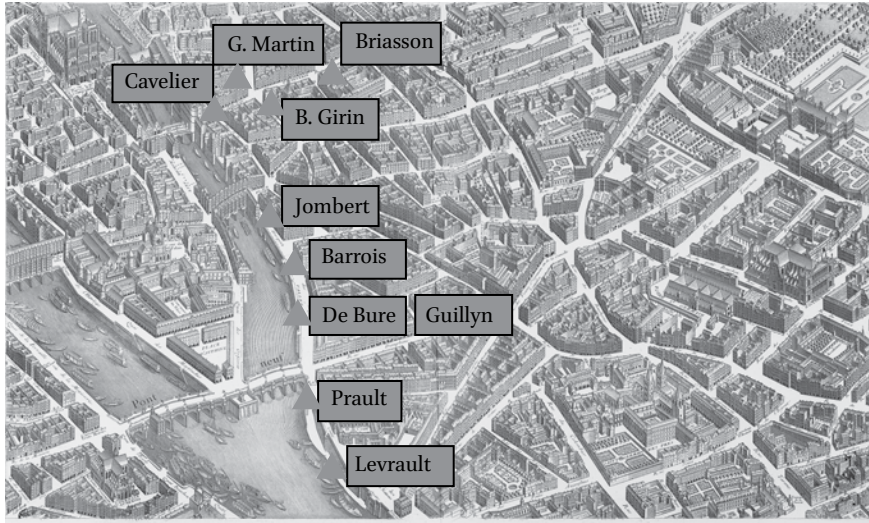


FIGURE 5 Location of Parisian bookshops that stocked Spanish literature.

and their works.<sup>120</sup> Briasson the Parisian bookseller does in fact mention certain editions of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in some of his letters to Berlin.<sup>121</sup>

Briasson mentions Spanish books in four of his catalogues in all; corresponding to the years 1730, 1736, 1739 and one without a date, although we can estimate it as being from around 1755.<sup>122</sup> He formally dedicates part of the catalogue to the Spanish books that he has in stock, and occasionally mentions them under "new publications". He includes a total of seventy-four such works, tending to list them in descending chronological order. The first catalogue contains by far the greatest number of the titles concerned and, as the century progressed, the bookshop dramatically reduced its stocks of Spanish books. Everything seems to indicate that it was economic reasons and the lack of a

120 There are references to the allusions made by the French eighteenth-century writer Paul Scarron in his *Roman comique* to the short Spanish novels that he rendered into French.

121 Fontius, *Correspondance*, p. 25. Letter from October 1740.

122 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 512. *Catalogue des livres, qui se vendent à Paris, chez Antoine-Claude Briasson, libraire, rue S. Jacques, à la Science* (1730); BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 514. *Catalogue des livres, qui se vendent à Paris, chez Antoine-Claude Briasson, libraire, rue S. Jacques, à la science* (1736); BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Q 8604. *Catalogue des livres, tant de France que des pays étrangers, qui se vendent à Paris, chez Antoine-Claude Briasson, libraire, rue Saint Jacques, à la science* (1739); BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 519. *Livres de langues étrangères qui se trouvent à Paris chez Briasson, libraire, rue Saint Jacques, à la Science* (ca. 1755).

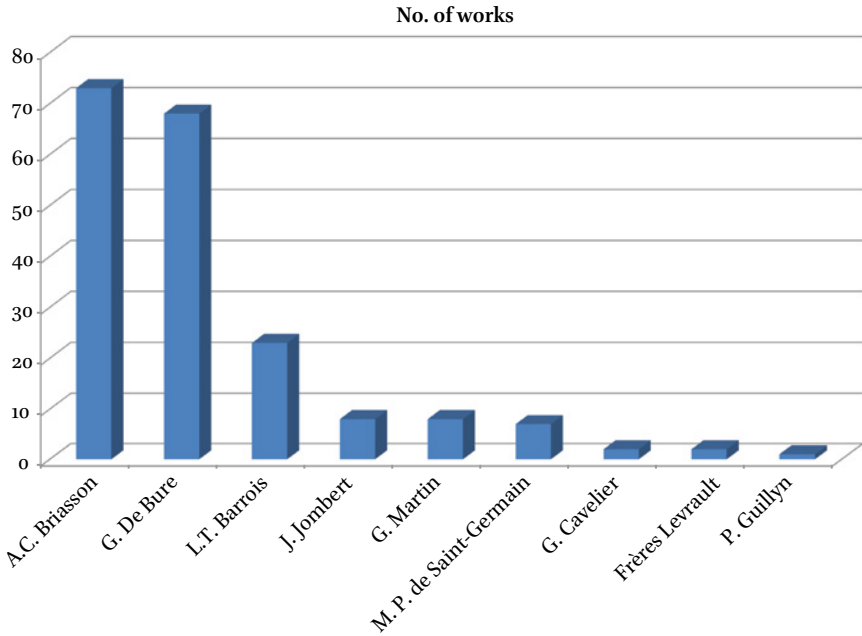


FIGURE 6 *Spanish literature in the bookshops of eighteenth-century Paris.*

market that caused Briasson to cut his stocks in this way. This does not however detract from the fact that his catalogue of *Livres de langues étrangères*, printed in 1758 in order to promote books from abroad, included works in Spanish.<sup>123</sup>

Briasson's catalogues almost all constitute a model of what we find in the stocks of all other Parisian booksellers, with a predominance of authors of the Spanish Golden Age and an absence of works from the eighteenth century. Those authors from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that are represented furthermore correspond to no more than ten works from the literary canon. This tendency helps to explain how daring to expand the range of Spanish authors was sometimes more of a business risk, which booksellers were unwilling to assume, than a commercial opportunity.

We find a similar number of Spanish Books (seventy, to be precise) in the catalogues of another illustrious bookseller, Guillaume de Bure II, a member of a dynasty of French bookmen that spanned the entire eighteenth century, and whose name is associated with the buying and selling of historic and rare books. De Bure ran a bookshop on the Quai des Augustins from 1759 to 1813,

<sup>123</sup> Frédéric Barbier and Sabine Juratic and Annick Mellerio, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et gens du livre à Paris 1701–1789*. A-C (Paris, Droz, 2007), p. 309.

before moving to the Rue Serpente; right in the middle of the "golden mile" of Parisian bookshops.<sup>124</sup> He worked throughout this period on behalf of important institutions like the Bibliothèque du roi, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and the Académie Royale de Sciences. Not everything was high honours for De Bure however, as 1778 saw him being carried off, just when he was exercising his position as an official of the Chambre Syndicale booksellers, to the Bastille. He was imprisoned there for a week, accused of having printed various counterfeit and banned editions. This unfortunate episode did not damage his professional career however, as he was subsequently appointed in 1795 to a committee charged with drawing up a catalogue of confiscated book collections. This post allowed him to accumulate a great knowledge of rare books, and also explains the presence of his name on many of the sale catalogues of the collections concerned. His work was justified by the fact that catalogues of Spanish books always list the corresponding prices.

The contents of his own library confirm the quality of his books, most of which were newly published items or reprints of publications that had already found success on the book market.<sup>125</sup> These include some Spanish books, as confirmed by the contents of the four De Bure catalogues that survive. The one printed in 1752 includes a list of "Livres d'assortiments tant du Royaume, que des pays étrangers", although the five hundred or so titles concerned do not, surprisingly, include a single one from Spain.<sup>126</sup> A second catalogue appeared in about 1770, a third in 1788 and a fourth in 1796.<sup>127</sup> Unlike Briasson, the presence of Spanish books in this case is an arithmetical progression in which the greater number of Spanish authors and works appears in the final catalogues of the series.

124 Jean-Dominique Mellot and Élisabeth Queval, *Répertoire d'imprimeurs/libraires (vers 1500-vers 1810)* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2004), p. 177.

125 Marie-Ann Merland, "Tirage et vente de livres à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: des documents chiffrés", *Revue Française d'Histoire du Livre*, 5 (1973).

126 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Q 8911. *Catalogue des livres qui se vendent à Paris chez de Bure l'aîné, libraire, Quai des Augustins, du côté du Pont S. Michel, à l'image Saint Paul* (1752).

127 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 1043. *Catalogues des livres en feuilles qui se trouvent en nombre chez Guill. De Bure, fils aîné, libraire, Quai des Augustins, à Paris* (ca. 1770); BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Q 8914. *Catalogue des livres qui se trouvent chez ...* (1788); BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 1042. *Catalogue des livres de fonds et d'assortimens, qui se trouvent en feuilles & en nombre chez Guillaume de Bure l'aîné. Libraire de la Bibliothèque Nationale, rue Serpente, n° 6, à Paris* (Août 1796). L'An 4.

A significant number of such works also appears in the only catalogue of a bookseller named Louis Théophile Barrois to be dedicated to authors and works from Spain. It probably dates from about 1803, and most of the twenty-three works that it lists are translations into French or editions printed outside Spain.<sup>128</sup> The name of Barrois has in fact always been associated with the Parisian trade in foreign literature, and with Spanish in this case. It is thus possible to find the famous *Voyage en Espagne fait en 1777 & 1778* (of 1782), by Peyron, with the title page imprint “Chez P. Théophile Barrois, jeune, rue du Hurepoix, près le Pont Saint-Michel”. His bookshop’s fame increased over the years and it was, by the turn of the nineteenth century, one of the best-stocked outlets of foreign literature, particularly English, German and Spanish. It therefore comes as no surprise to find reviews of the bookshop in the *Journal général de l’imprimerie et de la librairie* (1821), with particular reference to the Spanish books on sale there, such as Lesage’s *El bachiller de Salamanca, o aventuras de D. Querubín de la Ronda* (of 1821).<sup>129</sup> His commitment to the Spanish language led to him publishing various Spanish dictionaries and vocabularies, translated into French.<sup>130</sup>

Another bookshop with an interest in Spanish culture was the establishment of Jean II Jombert. As a member of a dynasty of notable Parisian booksellers headed by his father Jean Jombert, the son of the family ran his bookshop in the Rue Neuve de Richelieu, near the Place de la Sorbonne, until 1764. We know that he was licensed as a master in the trade in 1719, and that he was expelled in 1749 for publishing a letter written after the death of Louis XIV.<sup>131</sup> The bookshop passed to his widow on his death, as recorded in 1781 in the *Almanach de la librairie*.

During his years in charge of the bookshop, Jean Jombert published a total of seventy-five titles; an average of three a year. Of these publications, 38% were illustrated books, 23.6% were original editions, and just 1% were translations

128 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 170. *Livres espagnols qui se trouvent chez L. Théophile Barrois, fils, libraire pour les livres étrangers, quai Voltaire, n°3, à Paris.*

129 *Bibliographie de la France, ou Journal général de l’imprimerie et de la librairie*. N° 30. Vendredi, 27 juillet 1821.

130 *Diccionario francés-español y español-francés*, por Núñez y Taboada (En Paris, en casa de Brunot-Labbe; en casa de Teofilo Barrois, hijo, 1812, 1820); *Le nouveau guide de la conversation, en espagnol et en français*, par G. Hamonière (A Paris, chez Théophile Barrois fils, 1815, 1823); *Nouveau dictionnaire de poche, françois-espagnol et espagnol-françois*, par G. Hamonière (Paris, Chez Théophile Barrois fils, 1820).

131 Greta Kaucher, *Les Jombert. Une famille de libraires parisiens dans l’Europe des Lumières (1680–1824)* (Genève, Droz, 2015), p. 56.

into Latin.<sup>132</sup> The stocks of the bookshop were further classified as follows: 50% corresponding to science and mechanics; 5.3% to fine arts and architecture and 44.7% to literature.<sup>133</sup> This latter group contained the Spanish books that appeared in 1722 in the only known catalogue.<sup>134</sup>

One less well known contemporary of Jombert was a bookseller named Marcel Prault de Saint-Germain, who ran a shop on the Quai de Conti. We know that he printed some books, and acted as publisher for at least one that was curiously linked to the Spanish language, with the title, *Le secrétaire de banque, espagnol et françois, contenant la maniere d'écrire en ces deux langues des lettres de correspondance mercantille, pour tout genre d'affaire & de trafic*, published in Paris in 1768 and produced in the printing shop of the aforementioned Briasson, among others. The work was printed in both French and Spanish. Two of his catalogues from a few years before, dated 1765 and 1766 respectively, also refer to stocks of Spanish books.<sup>135</sup>

The shop of a printer called Gabriel Martin, who subsequently also became a bookseller, stood right in the middle of the Rue Saint Jacques. We have evidence of his activities between 1717 and 1761. A true man of his time, Martin entered into a partnership with another famous French bookseller, Prosper Marchand, with whom he actively participated, until his death in 1705, in the editing and publication of more than a hundred and forty catalogues. Experiences such as this led to the birth of what was to become known as the "Paris Bookseller's classification", which was used for most catalogues from then on, and from which arose the first bibliographical repertoires, particularly those of rare books, and the methodical system of classification that began to be used in bookshops and libraries; based on five main categories with systematic divisions and subdivisions.<sup>136</sup> These were entitled as follows: theology,

132 Greta Kaucher, *Les Jombert: une famille de libraires parisiens dans l'Europe des Lumières (1680–1824)*, 3 v. Thèse dirigée par M. Frédéric Barbier, 12 juin 2009, p. 156.

133 Kaucher, *Les Jombert*, p. 157.

134 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire 4° Q10 A (188). *Catalogue des livres qui se vendent à Paris, chez Jean Jombert, libraire, rue neuve de Richelieu, près la Sorbonne (1722)*.

135 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Q 9206. *Catalogue des livres étrangères, qui se trouvent à Paris chez Prault le jeune, libraire, quai de Conti, à la Charité (1765)*; BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 3283. *Catalogue des livres tant françois que de langues étrangères, qui se trouvent en nombre chez Prault le jeune, libraire, quai de Conti, à la charité (A Paris, 1766)*.

136 Yann Sordet, "Le recours au Catalogue de vente de Gabriel Martin à Seymour de Ricci", in Annie Charon and Élisabeth Parinet (coord.), *Les ventes de livres et leurs Catalogues, XVIIe–XXe siècle* (Paris, École des Chartes, 2000), pp. 106–108.

jurisprudence, sciences and arts, *belles-lettres* and history. Martin left us only one catalogue containing Spanish books, that of the year 1737.<sup>137</sup>

But Martin's relationship with Spanish literature was not limited to his shop; it was also linked to the dozens of auctions that frequently took place in Paris in those years, usually held at his premises on the Rue Saint Jacques. One of these, corresponding to a French scholar named Claude Gros de Boze, included very few Spanish books, although those that were present were highly significant: the *Bibliotheca Hispana* (1672, 1696) by Nicolás Antonio, and the six-volume *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (1726), with a price almost double that of the former work.<sup>138</sup> This is evidence of the high esteem that was placed in Paris on the learned Spanish institution's compendium of the Spanish language.

The bookseller Guillaume Cavelier (1684–1751) also issued, like Martin, a single catalogue of Spanish books. Specialising in the printing and sale of scientific books, Cavelier's shop, known as *Au Lys d'or* and subsequently run by his son Pierre Guillaume, became – from 1730 onwards – the main stockist of medical books for all of Paris.<sup>139</sup> He also did a fine job of disseminating journals and periodicals, initially with his father and then alone, with titles such as the *Nouveau Mercure* (1718–1719), the *Mercure* (1721–1723) and the *Mercure de France* (from 1724 onwards). His name likewise came to be associated with the publication of the *Spectateur français* (1721–1724).<sup>140</sup>

His "Spanish" catalogue of the year 1729 contains a section entitled "Peregrini Idiomatis", but actually includes only two Spanish books.<sup>141</sup> A few years later, in 1736, he published another catalogue that included "livres en langues étrangères, & imprimés tant en France, que ramassés de differens endroits de l'Europe", albeit now without a single trace of any item from Spain.<sup>142</sup> It is curious to note

137 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Q 9074. *Catalogue de livres d'assortimens, qui se trouvent chez Gabriel Martin, rue Saint Jacques, à l'Etoile* (1737).

138 *Catalogue des livres du cabinet de M. de Boze* (À Paris, rue S. Jacques, Chez G. Martin et H.L. Guérin & L.F. Delatour, 1753), p. 137.

139 Sabine Juratic, "Publier les sciences au 18e siècle: la librairie parisienne et la diffusion des savoirs scientifiques", *Dix-huitième siècle*, n° 40 (2008/1), p. 306.

140 Barbier, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs*, p. 394.

141 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 666. *Catalogue de livres sur toutes sortes de matieres* (A Paris, Chez Guillaume Cavelier, libraire, rue S. Jacques, près la Fontaine S. Severin, au Lys d'Or, 1729).

142 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 667. *Catalogue de livres sur toutes sortes de matieres* (A Paris, Chez Guillaume Cavelier, libraire, rue S. Jacques, près la Fontaine S. Severin, au Lys d'Or, 1736). Title page: "Books in foreign languages, printed in France and collected in different parts of Europe".



that Cavalier was, by the time of his death, the owner of the Hôtel d'Espagne in the Rue du Colombier, which he had bought on 26 November 1750.

The shelves of the printing works and bookshop of the brothers Levrault likewise offer scant evidence of Spanish titles. With a base in Strasbourg dating from 1798 and a presence in Paris from 1799 onwards on the Quai Malaquais, where they had their bookshop, and in the Rue de Mézières, the home of their printing press, Nicolas-Pierre Levrault, François-Laurent-Xavier Levrault and Louis-Charles Levrault operated under the name "Frères Levrault".<sup>143</sup> They had inherited the business from their father, who had turned the family firm into one of the leading printing houses of Strasbourg.<sup>144</sup> The brothers would go on to reorient the business by expanding its commercial network, publishing books and capturing the trade between France and Germany. The books printed and sold by the brothers Levrault were in fact published in French, German or Latin exclusively. We find only one insignificant reference to Spain, in the sale in 1793–94 of a copy of the *Barbier de Séville*.<sup>145</sup> This circumstance helps to explain why the catalogue of the 1800 mentions only two Spanish books.<sup>146</sup> A few years later, in 1803, the Levraults republished the famous *Tableau de l'Espagne moderne* by Bourgoing.

We find working in Paris between 1742 and 1781 a bookseller named Pierre Guillyn, whose shop was on the Quai des Augustins, accessed via the Pont Saint-Michel and the "au Lys d'or". According to his catalogue of 1754, which contains just one Spanish book, his shop was greatly focused on Europe:

We find all manner of items in the same bookshop, with works from both France and foreign countries; and the storeroom contains old books on all sorts of subjects. The shop also stocks books in Italian, Spanish, English and German. He buys collections and entire libraries, and has the works printed. He has storage for French books in Frankfurt and in Paris, for books bought at the Frankfurt book fairs, and he can obtain all manner of books from foreign countries.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Mellot, *Répertoire*, p. 364.

<sup>144</sup> Frédéric Barbier, *Trois cents ans de librairie et d'imprimerie. Berger-Levrault 1676–1830* (Genève, Droz, 1979), p. 129.

<sup>145</sup> Barbier, *Trois cents*, p. 322.

<sup>146</sup> BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire 8 Q10A (314). *Catalogue des livres de fonds de Levrault, frères, imprimeurs-libraires, à Paris et à Strasbourg* (An X, [1800]).

<sup>147</sup> BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 1840. *Catalogue des livres imprimés, ou qui se trouvent en nombre à Paris chez Guillyn, Quay des Augustins en entrant par le Pont S. Michel, au Lys d'Or* (1754): "L'on trouve chez le même libraire toutes sortes de livres d'assortimens, tant de France que des pays étrangers; il tient magazine de vieux livres, sur

Guillyn's bookshop stood very close to the premises of Barthélemy Girin, who appears to have run his business in Paris until 1723. Although his catalogue does not include any Spanish books, he does say that "l'on y vend aussi des livres Espagnols, Italiens & autres imprimez dans les pays étrangers".<sup>148</sup> This is more than enough evidence to indicate that his shop did stock Spanish books at one time or another. This detail is corroborated by the edition of *La guide des pecheurs composée en espagnol par le RP. Louis de Grenade, traduit par Mr. Girard* and published by Girin in 1701.

#### 1.4 The Spanish Literary Canon from a Parisian Point of View

Comparative studies of Spanish and French literature throw up some suggestive notions. Some of these take us back to the age-old debate between the followers of "old" and "modern" ideas, a literary pretext of which can be found in the fictional Battle of the Books that supposedly took place towards the end of the seventeenth century in the library of St. James's Palace in London, which was to be echoed in the very heart of the Académie française. Jonathan Swift's "ancients" stood for the defence of what was moral and for the respect of beauty, sweetness and light, and good order, and were ultimately the heirs of the Muses of antiquity; while the so-called "moderns" were vain, conceited and arrogant. The two opposing sides, represented zoologically as "bees" and "spiders" respectively, maintained ferocious scholarly debates which ranged French intellectuals of the stature of Montaigne, Racine, Rousseau and others against the "moderns" in the shape of Fontenelle, Perrault, Diderot or Voltaire, to name but a few. Swift classed the Spanish writer Juan de Mariana as one of the "moderns", the side that would end up being defeated by the "ancients".<sup>149</sup>

The "bookish Don Quixotes" as Perrault qualified the ancients, were not regarded as such by the booksellers of eighteenth-century Paris, who instead found the "modernity" of Spanish literature in the "ancient" classics; that is to

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toutes sortes de matieres, l'on trouve aussi chez lui des livres italiens, espagnols, anglois & allemands. Il achete cabinets & bibliotheques, et fait imprimer. Il tient magazin de livres françois a Francfort, & à Paris, des livres achettés aux foires de Francfort. Et se charge de faire venir toutes sortes de livres des pays étrangers".

148 BNF. Département de Littérature et Art. Inventaire Δ 1694. *Catalogue de livres imprimez, & qui se vendent à Paris, chez Barthelemy Girin, à l'entrée du Quay des Augustins, près l'Hostel de Luyne, à la Prudence*: "We also sell Spanish and Italian books, and other publications, in foreign countries".

149 Jonathan Swift, *La batalla entre los libros antiguos y modernos* (Palma de Mallorca, José J. de Olañeta, 2012), p. 85.

say in the authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the young pretender "moderns" were seen as "old pedants".<sup>150</sup> If we compare this to the reception given to French literature by the Spain of the Enlightenment, the discourse is just the opposite, as the "modern" writers of the 1700s provoked more interest than those of the previous centuries. It is for this reason that the concepts of "ancient" and "modern" were modified to match the stereotypes of each country. This can be seen in the middle of the Age of Enlightenment, with "el desplazamiento de España y su imperio a la periferia de una Europa moderna en vías de construcción".<sup>151</sup>

The booksellers of Paris found, in the Spanish classics of the Golden Age, a "sublime coterie" in which to look for signs of modernity. Certain literary giants now went about on the shoulders of dwarves, the authors of the eighteenth century, who again lost out in the Battle of the Books, compared to those traditionally regarded as "ancient", such as in the case of Mariana, and now considered "modern".

We now need to stop "talking books" however, in order to see if the old cliché that France forgot about eighteenth-century Spain was true or not. This involves going down into the street to browse bookshop windows, leaf through new editions and see what stocks were actually on offer to the curious visitor, traveller or anyone else with an interest in Spanish writings.

#### 1.4.1 *The "Modern" Writers of Spain's Golden Age*

It is evident, from what we have seen so far, that Spanish literature was rarely the motor of economic or intellectual activity in the bookshops of eighteenth-century Paris. When it was occasionally so, attention focused exclusively on Spanish publications of the previous two centuries. Spain's Golden Age continued to be, with the Enlightenment fully under way, the preferred literary model of the French. A single author and work of the period stand head and shoulders above the rest in this respect: Cervantes and *Don Quixote*.

Curiosity about the *hidalgo* of Castile was not an eighteenth-century phenomenon. It actually dated back to the previous century, when an interest in the Castilian language and Spanish culture held sway in the court of Louis XIV.<sup>152</sup>

150 Marc Fumaroli, *Las abejas y las arañas. La querella de los antiguos y los modernos* (Barcelona, Acanalado, 2008), p. 59.

151 Pérez-Magallón, "Apologías", p. 20: "the displacement of Spain and its empire to the periphery of a modern Europe still under construction".

152 Maurice Bardon, *El Quijote en Francia en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Alicante, Universidad, 2010), Estudio introductorio de Françoise Étienne, p. 18.

Filleau de Saint-Martin did not in fact translate *Don Quixote* from Spanish until the end of the 1600s. A definitive edition then appeared in approximately fifty reprints as the eighteenth century progressed. This would be one of the few French editions of Cervantes' work, as French printing houses showed little interest in publishing the novel in the original Spanish. This is borne out by the fact that not one of the twelve Spanish editions sold in Paris bookshops in the 1700s had been printed there or indeed anywhere else in France.

This observation leads to various conclusions, one of them being that *Don Quixote* was read mainly in French translation, and also that on those occasions when it was read in Spanish, the readers concerned turned mainly to foreign editions published outside France. This in turn leads us to assume a scant knowledge of the Spanish language on the part of the professionals of the book trade (printers and booksellers), intellectuals and society in general. Those concerned attempted to solve the situation, as we shall see, with various dictionaries and grammars. De Bure and Barrois appear to have been the only booksellers interested in selling the works of Cervantes in the original.

This is not to say that *Don Quixote* did not have an unparalleled impact on eighteenth-century France. Cervantes' masterpiece could in fact be found in multiple formats, be they written, spoken or pictorial. The novel *Don Quixote* was to overshadow all other Spanish books put together. The *philosophes* – and other connoisseurs of the ingenious, itinerant Spanish gentleman – made sure of this. The list of the books chosen by Montesquieu includes the French translation of *Don Quixote* that he refers to in his *Lettres persanes* of 1715, noting in relation to Spanish literature that “su único libro Bueno es el que ha puesto de manifiesto cuán ridículos son todos los demás”.<sup>153</sup> Voltaire for his part noted that after *Don Quixote*, the Spaniards have never found “una sola novela que merezca la pena leer”.<sup>154</sup> His library contained, as evidence of this, an edition of the book in Spanish (with a French translation) along with the odd other Spanish book, such as works by Calderón; which were translated thanks to the efforts of Gregorio Mayans.<sup>155</sup> His interest in *Don Quixote* was focused more on the characters than on the novel itself. He once even compared the inventive *hidalgo's* trust of Dulcinea with his own reliance on Madame du Châtelet. Madame du Châtelet curiously likewise possessed, in the magnificent library

153 Bardon, *El Quijote*, p. 29: “His only good book is the one that has shown how ridiculous all the others are”.

154 Bardon, *El Quijote*, p. 696: “a single novel worth reading”.

155 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, *Correspondencia entre Voltaire y Mayans sobre teatro* ([Valencia], Diputación de Valencia, [1998]).

of her country house in Cirey, an edition of *Don Quixote*, the *Segunda parte del ingenioso cavallero don Quixote de la Mancha* (Bruselas, 1616), to be precise.<sup>156</sup>

The French royal personage who showed most interest in *Don Quixote* was the Duke of Anjou, who subsequently became Philip v. He went so far as to write a continuation of it, *Tome v*, in French.<sup>157</sup> In France, the success of the wanderings of Alonso Quijano relied on humour and a sense of parody, as a satire of chivalric literature. It was a work intended to provoke laughter,<sup>158</sup> a "comic work", as Leclerc described it in his *Bibliothèque choisie* (1709). This may explain why the character created by Cervantes became the subject of numerous comedies, plays, novels, letters and pamphlets that re-imagined the itinerant Castilian gentleman for the French public.

Lesage's 1704 translation of *Don Quixote* belongs firmly in this tradition, as does the Florián translation of 1799, which contributed most to the novel's glorious reputation in France. These adaptations continued to make French readers laugh at the thousand and one vicissitudes of the hapless *hidalgo* and his faithful squire Sancho Panza, and did not prevent them reading between the lines of what was more than a mere satire on works of chivalry, and see the book as an attack on a world grown old; one of petty-minded ideas typical of an impoverished but haughty rural nobility that spent its days thus: "se miraba en el título de nobleza que colgaba del muro de su aposento".<sup>159</sup> It was, in short an open critique of the code of the *hidalgo*, or minor parish noble.

What is certain is that a Parisian wishing to read *Don Quixote* in the original would have had to go to the bookshops of De Bure or Barrois. The former would have been able to supply the Madrid edition of Ibarra of 1780, which was the most highly prized; or those of 1782 or 1787; along with the magnificent Tonson edition (London, 1738) or those of Amsterdam (1788) and The Hague (1744). Strangely enough, this bookshop would not have been able to supply what is surely the best eighteenth-century edition of *Don Quixote*, for its format, its elegance, its clean layout and the clarity of its printing: the 1746 Hague edition of Pierre d'Hondt, which was – with its copies of Coppel's magnificent illustrations – an illustrated work of art rather than a mere translation.<sup>160</sup> De Bure's would however have stocked other works by Cervantes, such as *Trabajos*

156 *Emilie du Châtelet: ses travaux scientifiques et le château de Cirey*. Paris, Christie's. Auction from 29 October 2012.

157 Francisco Rico, *Tiempos del "Quijote"* (Barcelona, Acantilado, 2012), p. 13.

158 Rico, *Tiempos*, p. 130.

159 Bardón, *El Quijote*, p. 972: "He contemplated the title of nobility that hung on the wall of his lodgings".

160 Bardón, *El Quijote*, p. 727.

*de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1781), his *Novelas exemplares* (1783), and *La Galatea* (1784). Barrois for his part sold both the Tonson edition and the Madrid edition of 1798, to which he added the *Vie de Michel de Cervantes* (Amsterdam, 1740), by Gregorio Mayans. We should finally mention the edition of *Don Quixote* printed by Verdussen in Antwerp in 1719, which could be found on the premises of the booksellers Jean Jombert and Cavelier,<sup>161</sup> along with the 1739 edition of *Novelas exemplares* sold by Prault in successive catalogues.

One thing that these editions, and the catalogues in which they are listed, makes clear is that *Don Quixote* became a *livre de poche* for the Parisians who read it. The term is used to refer to a book in octavo or duodecimo format, or even in the *octodecimo* format of the Madrid edition of 1798, and also to any book that is profusely illustrated. There are more than enough clues to guess that reading the book was a popular pastime for the Parisians of the day, who found the book a form of escapism and a faithful companion which, through laughter duly portrayed in engravings, allowed them to imagine themselves into the role of the character they considered to be the essential Spaniard personified.

One curious fact worth noting is that *Don Quixote*, as a critique of the chivalric novel, was actually accompanied by a real work belonging to the genre in the shape of *Tirant lo Blanch*, which was granted a tacit permit in 1736 and, on other occasions, printed in Paris with a false imprint (corresponding to London).<sup>162</sup>

There was evidently an interest in Spanish literature in eighteenth-century Paris, albeit one subject to limitations such as those imposed by language, as we have seen with *Don Quixote*, which prevented a closer view of what the reality of Spain actually entailed. It is not clear whether this lack was voluntary or not, but it did not in any way dissuade the Parisians of the day from trying to learn Spanish. This is echoed by the booksellers.

The term “booksellers” in this context does not just refer to the select few that sold the works of Cervantes, but rather to virtually all the booksellers of Paris (Briasson, De Bure, Barrois, G. Martin, Prault, Guillyn and so on) that were involved in this latter enterprise, which involved a commitment to selling one of the works of lexicography which would have the greatest impact on eighteenth-century Europe, namely Francisco Sobrino’s “maestro de Lengua

161 After Cavelier died, the inventory of his estate dated 1 March 1752 indicated that the Paris bookseller held a 1/18% stake in the *privilege* of Barbin’s company to print 14 copies of *Don Quichotte*. Françoise Weil, *L’interdiction du roman et la librairie 1728–1750* (Paris, Aux amateurs de livres, 1986), p. 199.

162 Weil, *L’interdiction*, pp. 207 and 224.

TABLE 3 *List of most-quoted authors.*

Author	No. of editions
Miguel de Cervantes	12
Francisco Sobrino	9
Juan de Palafox y Mendoza	4
Sebastián Fernández de Medrano	4
José Zaragoza	4
Juan de Mariana	3
Santa Teresa de Jesús	2
Quevedo	2
Baltasar Gracián	2
Mateo Alemán	2
Juan Eusebio Nieremberg	2
Antonio de Solís	2
Gaspar Gil Polo	2
Antonio de Capmany	2
Antonio Ponz	2

Española en la corte de Bruselas”. The scarceness of the biographical details that we have of the author in no way detracts from the widespread fame that his work attained in its day, with particular reference to the bilingual editions (Spanish-French and French-Spanish) of his dictionaries and grammars. Sobrino’s readers were seemingly clear-cut groups consisting of, on the one hand an aristocratic clientèle that he attended to personally and, on the other, merchants and traders who saw in the Spanish language a link to commercial profitability based on its prevalence in Spain.<sup>163</sup>

It is highly likely that this specifically practical aspect of Sobrino’s writings, rather than their cultural content, is what led the booksellers of Paris to stock nearly all his works. Knowing that there was a large contingent of French citizens living in Spain, they saw in these sales the possibility of extending their market to include new readers of books in the Spanish language.

Practically all of Sobrino’s works could be found on sale in Paris from 1730 onwards, the year in which Briasson’s catalogue appeared, until 1796, the year of

163 Daniel M. Sáez Rivera (ed.), “Vida y obra de Francisco Sobrino (con breves noticias sobre Félix Antonio de Alvarado y Fray Gerónimo de Gracián)”, in *Diálogos nuevos en español y en francés* (1708), *Revista LEMIR* (Valencia, 2002), p. 13.



FIGURE 7 Coypel's "Don Quixote". Paris, [1725]. *El Quijote: Biografía de un libro 1605–2005* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 2005).

publication of De Bure's counterpart. The total presence amounted to almost a century, showing that the Spaniard's work had not lost any of its fame or vigour. The first book in the list is the *Gramática nueva española y francesa*, which was turned into a highly useful pocket edition and published for the first time in 1697. The booksellers of Paris sold several successive editions throughout the eighteenth century, printed in Brussels (1703, 1712, 1717, 1732, 1738, 1745 and 1752), Paris (1740) and Madrid (1793) respectively. We can draw several conclusions from this, the first being the dominant role that Brussels continued to play in the publication of Spanish books; while the second is the relatively minor importance of editions printed elsewhere (i.e. Madrid and Paris), where the work should theoretically have had more impact on the world of publishing.



This is logically based on a number of grounds. The first of these was the fact that Sobrino had enjoyed ample fame in Brussels, where he lived until his death in approximately 1734. But perhaps the most important reason is Spain's dependence, throughout the eighteenth century, on the Belgian printing industry. It was no accident that Cervantes' *Don Quixote* was one of the most published works in Belgium in the hundred years concerned. J.F. Broncart, a printer and bookseller from Liege, had agents in Paris, such as Joseph Huchet, who supplied him with all manner of books, most of them contraband; among which could be found some Spanish work or other, but usually *Don Quixote*.<sup>164</sup> This was sure to be one of the many editions printed in France, as the Bassompierre family of Liege published various editions of Cervantes' celebrated novel, including the version of 1750, based on the magnificent Hague edition of 1746, which was illustrated with artwork by Coypel, Cochin and Boucher, among others, and which provided a model<sup>165</sup> for the editions of 1757, 1768, 1773, and 1776, the last one lavishly illustrated.<sup>166</sup> *Don Quixote* was in fact to enjoy unprecedented success in Belgium during the eighteenth century. Specifically, of the forty French editions, the first was published in Brussels in 1706 and printed by Guillaume Fricx. It was reprinted just one year later. B. Le Francq, a Brussels printer and bookseller, reissued the work in 1795, beautifully illustrated with plates by Coypel and Picart de Romain. The famous Verdussen family of Antwerp also issued various editions, as did Jean-Baptiste II, who published a two-volume edition in 1719, and the widow of Corneille II, who likewise published it – but in four volumes – in 1770. Interest was such that the work would be adapted as musical compositions, tapestries and paintings, which were all highly popular with the Belgian public.<sup>167</sup>

The presence of Spanish literature in Belgium was in fact monopolised by *Don Quixote*. One piece of information that can be verified when analysing the presence of Spanish books in the private book collections of Brussels is that Spanish books accounted for just 0.13% of all works published in Europe.<sup>168</sup>

164 Raymond Birn, "De Liège à Paris: la route du livre à l'aube du XVIIIe siècle", in Roland Mortier and Hervé Hasquin, *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle. XIV. Le livre à Liège et à Bruxelles au XVIIIe siècle* (Bruxelles, Université de Bruxelles, 1987), p. 28.

165 Alain Jacobs, "Don Quijote. La iconografía", in *Don Quijote en Bélgica* (Bruselas, Instituto Cervantes, 2006), p. 61.

166 Jacques Poset, "Don Quijote en Bélgica", in *Don Quijote en Bélgica* (Bruselas, Instituto Cervantes, 2006), p. 34.

167 Christian de Paepe, "Don Quijote y sus aventuras musicales por tierras belgas", in *Don Quijote en Bélgica* (Bruselas, Instituto Cervantes, 2006), pp. 46–53.

168 Bernard Desmaele, "Coup d'oeil sur quelques bibliothèques privées bruxelloises du XVIIIe siècle", in Roland Mortier and Hervé Hasquin, *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle. XIV. Le livre à Liège et à Bruxelles au XVIIIe siècle* (Bruxelles, Université de Bruxelles, 1987), p. 105.

This percentage is very similar to that corresponding to the Spanish-language books in the same libraries, accounting for just 1.4% of the total.<sup>169</sup> Save for some exceptions, like certain works on economics relating to Spain, such as *Considerations sur les finances d'Espagne* (Dresden, 1753), *Rétablissement des manufactures et du commerce d'Espagne* (Amsterdam-Paris, 1753), or *La Banque d'Espagne, dite de Saint-Charles* (1785, place unknown), which might be found in the library of some important member of society in the Netherlands, the presence of Spanish authors and their works in what had formerly been Spanish possessions was rather scarce.<sup>170</sup>

This dependence on Belgian presses, with a clear connection to Paris, was not limited to *Don Quixote*, as we have already seen with the printing of Sobrino's *Gramática* dedicated to the teaching of the Spanish language, whose other works would go on to be printed in Brussels and sold by the most famous booksellers of Paris. These included his *Diccionario nuevo de las dos lenguas francesa y española*, the first two-volume quarto edition of which was printed in Brussels in 1705. The *Diccionario* was the first bidirectional French-Spanish work of its type to be published in the eighteenth century, as well as the most famous dictionary of the age.<sup>171</sup> The booksellers of Paris managed to dispose of virtually all copies of each edition, and also the 1789 reprint better known as the *Sobrino aumentado*, which was sold at De Bure's printing works with François Cormon in charge of publication. De Bure was looking to sell this reprint, as was Sobrino, to a new public of courtiers, diplomats, senior government officials and others with a need to master a foreign language, in a clear allusion to Spanish, in a reasonably short time.<sup>172</sup> The sounding-out of the market by the booksellers of Paris did not end with this work by Sobrino, as they continued to offer for sale two more books from the Spaniard's *oeuvre*, namely *Diálogos nuevos en español y francés* (1708, 1724) and *el Secretario español, enseñando la manera de escribir cartas españolas según el estilo moderno* (1720).

The works of Sobrino continued, for the French public, the bilingual French-Spanish lexicographic model begun in the seventeenth century by Oudin,

169 Desmaele, "Coup d'oeil", p. 108.

170 Claude Sorgeloos, "L'economie politique et les bibliothèques de grands commis dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens", in Roland Mortier and Hervé Hasquin, *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle. XIV. Le livre à Liège et à Bruxelles au XVIIIe siècle* (Bruxelles, Université de Bruxelles, 1987), p. 105.

171 Carmen Cazorla Vivas, *Lexicografía bilingüe de los siglos XVIII y XIX con el español y el francés*. Memoria para optar el Grado de Doctor (Madrid, 2002), p. 63.

172 Alberto Supiot, "Un diccionario bilingüe (español-francés, francés-español) del siglo XVIII. El *Diccionario nuevo* de Francisco Sobrino", in Luisa Donaire and Francisco Lafarga (dir.), *Traducción y adaptación cultural: España-Francia* (Oviedo, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1991), p. 497.

whom Sobrino sometimes plagiarised. This also perpetuated, as did the other channels of communication already mentioned, the image of prestigious Spanish authors like Calderón, Moreto, Quevedo and Cervantes; all of whom take us back to the Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It was precisely one of these authors so typical of the Spanish Golden Age, Father Juan de Mariana, who was to find a secure place in the heart of eighteenth-century Paris, to such an extent that he formed part of the basic repertoire of authors in the bookshops of both Briasson and De Bure. Furthermore, and except for Ibarra's folio edition of *Historia general de España* (Madrid, 1780), the other Spanish publications appeared in duodecimo format, evidence of being designed for convenience and portability. So how do we explain this success? I am inclined to think, given all the reasons available, that cultural and political considerations encouraged booksellers to stock the Spanish Jesuit's history. Again, and as with *Don Quixote*, this interest did not arise *ex nihilo*. It actually dated back to the seventeenth century, when the book had been published in France in Latin and Spanish, although it was not to appear in French translation until well into the following century.<sup>173</sup> The book was in fact translated in 1723–1725, to join a considerable number of histories of Spain already rendered into French, including *Histoire générale d'Espagne* (1723) by Morvan de Bellegarde; *l'Histoire des révolutions d'Espagne* (1725) by Father d'Orleans; *l'Abrégé de l'Histoire d'Espagne* (1741) by Duchesne and *l'Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne* (1759) by Désormeaux, among others. They all offered the Parisian reader an image that coincided well with what could already be found in the works of Cervantes and Sobrino: an unrefined, baroque Spain in which contemporary history seemed to fizzle out.<sup>174</sup> An analysis of one of the best libraries in Paris of that time leaves no room for doubt in this respect, as confirmed by the stock of books on Spanish history found in the *Bibliotheca Colbertina*, named for Louis XIV's famous chief minister Colbert, who also founded the French National Library. Of the almost one hundred and fifty works on the history of Spain found in the library, none is from the eighteenth century. They all date instead from the two previous centuries.<sup>175</sup>

173 Amelia Sanz Cabrerizo, "Lecturas y reescrituras del Padre Mariana en la Francia del siglo XVII", in Ignacio Arellano Ayuso and Carmen Pinillos and Marc Vitse; Frédéric Serralta (coord.), *Studia aurea: actas del III Congreso de la AISO* (Navarra, GRISO (Grupo de Investigación Siglo de Oro Universidad de Navarra), 1996), v. 3, 1996, p. 502.

174 Isabel Herrero and Jean Marie Goulemot, "Relatos de viajes e imágenes francesas de España", in Mercé Boixareu and Robin Lefere (coord.), *La Historia de España en la literatura francesa. Una fascinación* (Madrid, Castalia, 2002), p. 312.

175 *Bibliotheca colbertina, seu Catalogus librorum bibliothecae, quae fuit primum Ill. V.D. J.B. Colbert, regni administri* (Parisiis, apud Gabrielem Martin; Franciscum Montalant, 1728).

Booksellers could ultimately do nothing else but sound out the market, gauge literary tastes and adapt themselves accordingly. The printers of the day likewise displayed an overriding preference for mediaeval and baroque Spain, along with historical works, novels,<sup>176</sup> popular opinion and the theatre,<sup>177</sup> among other cultural manifestations.

Mariana was no exception in this respect. His cultural and historical interests were combined with at least as much enthusiasm for politics. On one hand, according to the editor of the *Journal de Trevoux* in 1701, referring to a translation of Father Mariana, the French public followed with attention the historical aspects of the Spanish succession.<sup>178</sup> As the century progressed, Mariana's work became one of the cultural references of the struggle against oppression and tyranny. His work expanded theories on the need to defend a republic based on monarchy in which power no longer emanated from God, but from the people, and where the people could, in the face of royal corruption and lawlessness, rise up against the monarch and even put him to death. These notions of tyrannicide provided intellectual justification to, among others, authors like Montesquieu, who indicated in his *Mes pensées* his intention to read Mariana's *De rege et regis institutione*,<sup>179</sup> or to Robespierre himself, promoter of the modern philosophy of natural law, now represented by the figure of the Spanish Jesuit.<sup>180</sup> The French Revolution would do the rest.

The bookshops of Paris also stocked, in addition to Mariana and representing the famous School of Salamanca, works by the Augustinian Juan Márquez. Briasson's shop stocked a folio edition of one of his most important works, *El Governador christiano* (1655), which was soon translated into French. This book's political content, which showed a rather more lukewarm attitude to the limits of royal power, became one of the archetypal emblems of the Counter-Reformation, promoting as it did a notion of monarchy linked to

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176 Evelio Miñano, "España en *La Henriade* de Voltaire", in Mercé Boixareu and Robin Lefere (coord.), *La Historia de España en la literatura francesa. Una fascinación* (Madrid, Castalia, 2002), pp. 363–376; Antonio Domínguez Leiva, "La España de la novela negra francesa: el *Manuscrit trouvé a Saragosse*", in Boixareu and Lefere (coord.), *La Historia de España en la literatura francesa*, pp. 431–444.

177 A. Ferreira de Brito, "Temas y problemas españoles en el teatro", in Boixareu and Lefere (coord.), *La Historia de España en la literatura francesa*, pp. 393–414.

178 Manuel Garrido Palazón, "*Translatio imperii, translatio studii*: el gusto español en la polémica clasicista italofrancesa del primer siglo XVIII", in Checa Beltrán, *Lecturas*, p. 51.

179 Étienvre, "Montesquieu", p. 67.

180 Florence Gauthier, "De Juan de Mariana à la Marianne de la République française ou le scandale du droit de résister à l'oppression", *Sin Permiso*, 2 (junio de 2007), p. 15.

the principles of security, a strong power base and a progressive process of political institutionalisation.<sup>181</sup>

Another eighteenth-century Spanish author welcomed to some degree in the Paris of the Enlightenment was Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. This was reflected in the book stocks of Briasson, whose catalogues of 1730, 1736 and 1739 all included works by the celebrated Bishop of Puebla de Los Angeles. The editions offered all dated from the seventeenth century, with one published in Madrid and the others in Brussels. The Madrid edition was his work entitled *Sitio y socorro de Fontarrabia* (1639), while the Belgian editions were of *Año espiritual* (1662) and *Carta pastoral y conocimientos de la divina gratia* (1671). It seems strange that Briasson should not have stocked (although it counted as a rare set of books) the eight-volume Madrid edition (1659–1671) of the bishop's complete works. It is equally curious that his shop held only continental editions of these two works, and not the Spanish versions from a few years before. But this is not an isolated incident in our present narrative, and it responds – as we shall see – to logistical and economic factors.

The limited interest in the life and work of Palafox no doubt resulted to a large degree from the extent of their presence in other publications of the day. I would like to mention one of these in particular, as it became one of the emblems of the Republic of Letters. Volume eight (from 1759) of Moreri's *Grand dictionnaire historique* includes a long reference to the Spanish cleric, noting the warm welcome that his works received, particularly in the seventeenth century, when several of them were printed in Paris. The list included his *Histoire de la conquête de la Chine par les Tartares* (1670),<sup>182</sup> which was quoted by figures of the stature of Voltaire, and *Lettres chinoises* (1776), which the author signed as "Benedictine" with a false address in London.<sup>183</sup>

It is one of the paradoxes of history that in the same year (1759) in which Moreri was giving Palafox best-seller status with more than twenty editions of his works, Spain's King Carlos III took out and dusted down certain works by Palafox and Mendoza that had previously formed part of the *Index* of forbidden books. This episode would help bring about the publication of a new edition of the bishop's complete works, which were finally printed in Madrid in 1762 by Gabriel Ramírez as thirteen thick volumes in folio format.

181 Francisco Javier López de Goicoechea Zabala, "Política y religión en el pensamiento de Juan Márquez (1565–1621)", *Cuadernos Salmantinos de Filosofía*, n° 3 (1996), p. 301.

182 Louis Moreri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* (A Paris, chez les libraires associés, 1759), v. 8, p. 25.

183 Voltaire, *Lettres chinoises, indiennes et tartares, a Monsieur Paw, par un benedictin* (Londres, 1776), pp. 67–68.

Despite careful editing, it went unnoticed by the booksellers of Paris; perhaps for fear of possible reprisals by the Inquisition.

This was not so in the case of books on the art of war by Sebastián Fernández de Medrano, a Spanish soldier of the seventeenth century, as Briasson sold several of his more significant works. They curiously all appear in the same catalogue (of 1730), and all bear an Antwerp imprint (1708, 1709, and 1723). This is something that should not surprise us by now; nor likewise the French taste for things military. The genre in question covered works on geometry, mechanics and architecture, fortifications, infantry tactics and horsemanship, along with other subjects; these books that were aimed mainly at the nobility, whose education and upbringing commonly included pursuits such as fencing and riding, along with instruction in the military arts and mathematics. This created a disciplined military spirit among the young nobility, which equipped them with physical strength supplemented by intellectual capacity.

These books from Spain complemented the already huge range of books on the equestrian arts and military matters that was easy to find in France from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.<sup>184</sup> This genre also adapted well to the material changes of the day, as it was published mainly in small formats such as octavo, as well as being richly illustrated. It comes as no surprise to find that these works were used in the training of military architects, given that they included teachings on arithmetic, trigonometry, geometry and the use of mathematical instruments;<sup>185</sup> all duly illustrated with engravings, which proved to be a highly useful informative tool.

The booksellers of Paris were likewise not ignorant of the interest that existed in France in Spanish spirituality, which concerned two mystics in particular: Saint Teresa of Ávila and the Venerable Louis of Granada. The bookseller Barrois stocked the *Obras* of Saint Teresa, published by the prestigious Plantin printing works of Antwerp in the middle of the seventeenth century, while one of the book catalogues of Briasson included a booklet entitled *Exclamations, con las sententias de S. Juan de la Cruz* (1716). Briasson's roster of religious authors was meanwhile completed by the *Orationes* of Louis of Granada, published in *octodecimo* format for the reader to carry on his person at all times. The resulting question is obvious: What was the interest that these authors attracted in eighteenth-century Paris? It is true that their success, like that of other Spanish authors, dated from the seventeenth century, and that names like that of the

184 Daniel Roche, "Le livre d'équitation du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: esquisse d'une réflexion", in Frédéric Barbier and alii, *Le livre et l'historien. Études offertes en l'honneur du professeur Henri-Jean Martin* (Genève, Droz, 1997), pp. 193–194.

185 Roche, "Le livre d'équitation", p. 7.

Dominican friar Louis of Granada held an important place in readers' esteem. The latter's works were published and reprinted in Paris, Rouen and elsewhere. One of his works in particular, his *Guide des pécheurs*, found great popularity with everyone from humble carpenters to those in charge of various schools in Paris,<sup>186</sup> who used it as a manual of instruction for the French youth of the eighteenth century.<sup>187</sup>

Nevertheless, the then-new Spanish mysticism was largely disseminated in France by the works of Saint Teresa. Her works, along with those of Louis of Granada, enjoyed unprecedented success in France in the 1600s, as demonstrated by the numerous editions published (210 in the case of Friar Louis; 109 of the works of Saint Teresa). These figures are more than enough to confirm the book-market penetration of these two Spanish mystics.<sup>188</sup>

Part of this success is also due to the invaluable promotion provided by the booksellers of seventeenth-century Paris, which increased the knowledge of the Carmelite order in France, thereby helping to establish one of its monasteries in Paris as translation and dissemination of the related works continued.<sup>189</sup> The works of Saint Teresa were also held in great esteem at the Court of Versailles, thanks to Louis XIV's mistress Louise de la Vallière, and subsequently Louis XV's daughter Louise, who ended up joining the order herself.<sup>190</sup> This image was to be attenuated somewhat in the eighteenth century by certain "philosophical" opinions, such as those of the Marquis d'Argens, who regarded Saint Teresa as a "mad nun" and the victim of ridiculous illusions. This made her, alongside *Don Quixote*, a typically mad Spaniard of the type that the France of the Age of Reason rejected as unbearable.<sup>191</sup> This caricaturing of Spanish

186 Daniel Roche, *Le peuple de Paris. Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, Fayard, 1998), p. 291. When he died, Guillaume Thorel, "compagnon charron", left a collection of 20 volumes that included the *Guide des pécheurs* de Louis de Grenade.

187 Martine Sonnet, *L'éducation des filles au temps des Lumières* (Paris, CERF, 1987), p. 227. This referred to the students of the College of the Daughters of the Cross.

188 Alexandre Cioranescu, *Le masque et le visage. Du baroque espagnol au classicisme français* (Genève, Droz, 1983), p. 213.

189 Daniel-Henri Pageaux, "Traducción y recepción de Santa Teresa en Francia", in M<sup>a</sup> Luisa Donaire Fernández and Francisco Lafarga (eds), *Traducción y adaptación cultural: España-Francia* (Oviedo, Universidad, 1991), pp. 167–174; Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1598–1701*. V. 1 (Genève, Droz, 1999). See chapter: "Autour de Sainte Thérèse: la pénétration de la spiritualité espagnole: de Louis de Grenade à Saint Jean de la Croix", pp. 132–135.

190 Jean Canavaggio, "Thérèse d'Avila et Jean de la Croix en France", in Thérèse d'Avila and Jean de la Croix, *Oeuvres* (Paris, Gallimard, 2012), p. LXXV.

191 Canavaggio, "Thérèse", p. 174.

spirituality now focused on the figure of Saint Teresa; though not on her fellow Carmelite mystic Saint John of the Cross, who continued to enjoy the respect of eighteenth-century Paris.<sup>192</sup> These were all manifestations of how Spanish spirituality continued to act as a point of intellectual reference for an increasingly secularised country.

In fact Spanish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries became quite an attraction for the Parisians of the 1700s. This does not however explain why most of the works on sale in the bookshops of the day should be by one of the above authors. It was nevertheless possible to find an earlier author occasionally, such as the fifteenth-century poet Jorge Manrique, whose famous *Coplas* (1779) were sold by De Bure in 1788 and 1796; or the collected works of Ramon Llull, from Majorca, which appeared in several of Briasson's catalogues (in 1730, 1736 and 1739). French interest in the polymath Llull may be explained by the fact that some of his works from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century were rediscovered in the 1700s by figures of the stature of Condorcet. We find in Llull's writings his rules on voting, which were based on equilibrium between the respective principles of majority and authority, with the latter normally constituting a qualified minority. Llull's method was subsequently developed by Condorcet on the basis of his calculations of probabilities.

Eighteenth-century France likewise regarded as valuable the works of the poet Garcilaso de la Vega. It is therefore not surprising that De Bure should stock his *Obras completas*, printed by Sancha in Madrid in 1788, in a pocket-sized *octodecimo* edition described as "très jolie édition, avec le portrait de l'auteur très bien gravé". One explanation of this is that the works of Garcilaso tended, unlike those of many of his countrymen, to be essentially secular in character. As Azorín pointed out previously, "de todos los poetas españoles de los siglos XVI y XVII, Garcilaso es el único que no haya escrito ni un solo verso de asunto religioso. No estaba la poesía religiosa dentro de su temperamento".<sup>193</sup>

Another poet, this time of the seventeenth century, was Quevedo; an author who apparently appealed to French tastes of the day, as attested by the bookshops of Gabriel Martin and Prault. Both of them sold various volumes of his works. Quevedo's verse supplied to perfection the comic humour that readers expected from Spanish literature, as we have already seen in works

192 It serves as an example of the following panegyric: Henry-Marie Boudon, *La vive flamme d'amour, dans le bienheureux Jean de la Croix* (A Paris, chez la veuve Herissant, 1778).

193 José Martínez Ruíz (Azorín), "Sobre Garcilaso", in *Los dos Luisés y otros ensayos* (Madrid, 1921), pp. 137–143: "of all the Spanish poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Garcilaso was the only one to write not a single verse on the subject of religion. Religious poetry was just not part of his temperament".



like *Don Quixote*. His burlesque verse did not in any way aspire to a high intellectual level designed to demand that readers find the meaning in every line. He merely sought to entertain the reader with these burlesque effects, turning him into *lector in ridiculis*.<sup>194</sup> His works include such classics as *Sueños*, which was one of the most widely read books of the age. It had been printed, by 1715, in no fewer than sixty-three French editions.<sup>195</sup> One of Quevedo's edition, González de Salas, likewise appears in the list of authors whose works were sold by the booksellers of Paris; by De Bure in this case, in his catalogue of 1796. Another follower of the *Conceptismo* movement, albeit in a more marginal way, was Friar Benito Ruiz, better known as Antolínez de Piedrabuena. He was the author of an allegorical novel entitled *Universidad de amor*, which enjoyed considerable success in France, and in Paris in particular, where it was possible to find a printed edition from the seventeenth century in Cavalier's bookshop.

Another author with comic tendencies was Lope de Vega, whose works were stocked solely by the bookshop of De Bure. This is not at all surprising, given the impact that the Spanish *Comedia* had on such genres as classic French theatre. This had already been revealed by Linguet in the preface to his *Théâtre espagnol* (1770), in which he pointed out the legacy left by Spanish dramatists to French literature of the eighteenth century, with particular reference to Lope, of whom he said "je ne sais pourquoi cette vérité s'est obscurcie parmi nous. Les françaises doivent plus cent fois aux espagnols qu'à tous les autres peuples de l'Europe".<sup>196</sup> The French author was aware of the way in which Spanish theatre was deliberately ignored, or at least undervalued, which in no way detracts from his efforts to disseminate knowledge of Spanish playwrights. One example of this is the first French edition (from 1700) of Lope de Vega's comedy *Guardar y guardarse*, included in a work entitled *Le théâtre espagnol ou les meilleures comédies des plus fameux auteurs espagnols, traduites en français*. Its title was ultimately changed, at the behest of Lesage, the work's translator, to *Don Félix de Mendoza*.<sup>197</sup> We also have Corneille's adaptation of another Lope

194 Samuel Fasquel, *Quevedo et la poétique du burlesque au XVIIe siècle* (Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2011), p. 341.

195 Cioranescu, *Le masque*, p. 238.

196 Paul Hazard, "Ce que les lettres françaises doivent à l'Espagne", *Revue de Littérature Comparée*. Janvier 1, vol. XVI (1936), p. 21: "I do not know why this truth has been concealed among us. The French owe the Spaniards more than a hundred times what the rest of the peoples of Europe do".

197 Catherine Gaignard, "Histoire d'un titre 'non gardé': de *Guardar y guardarse* de Lope de Vega à la 'traduction' de Lesage, *Don Félix de Mendoza*", in Christophe Couderc (dir.), *Le théâtre espagnol du Siècle d'Or en France. De la traduction au transfert culturel* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2012), pp. 165–175.

comedy, *Amar sin saber a quién* (1620–1622), for his play *La Suite du Menteur*.<sup>198</sup> It would be beyond the scope of this project to trace the entire presence of Lope in the French literature of the day, although we should point out that Parisians could by that time acquire the Spanish author's work in prose and verse, both as a popular quarto edition in twenty-one volumes and, albeit for the rather high price of 120 *livres*, a more luxurious version printed "en grand papier".

Lope de Vega's favourite disciple was Juan Pérez de Montalbán, the author of, among other works, a collection of eight novellas entitled *Los sucesos y prodigios de amor*, which Briasson sold in a pocket edition from his bookshop on the Parisian "golden mile". Its dissemination in Paris was no doubt helped by the inclusion of three of these novellas in the translation *Le desespoir amoureux, avec les visions de don Quichotte, histoire espagnole* (1715), one of which, *La mayor confusión*, was to influence authors like Montesquieu.<sup>199</sup>

Gracián was the author most widely translated into French after Cervantes, as amply confirmed by the bookshops of Paris. Unsurprisingly, Gracián's works reached the rest of Europe via France.<sup>200</sup> It was possible to find copies of the Jesuit author's *Obras* in the respective bookshops of Jean Jombert and Briasson, both of which stocked the two-volume Antwerp quarto edition, signed by Gracián under the pseudonym "Lorenzo Gracián". As with other Spanish authors, interest in Gracián dated back to the seventeenth century, when his work was widely published, translated and imitated.<sup>201</sup> Now, in the 1700s, the "bizarre, strange and dark" Gracián of the previous century would turn into a model of sensitivity, with his works linked to history, the evolution of society and Voltaire's concept of "taste".<sup>202</sup> The library of the great *philosophe* did in fact contain several works by the Spanish author, who would come to be regarded as a model thinker capable of calling into question Spain's role in history. The Jesuit author's critical and political ideology, which was shared by thinkers of the stature of Bayle and Desfontaines, was opposed by the more wordly Gracián and, in terms of Jesuit beliefs, by Father J. de Courbeville

198 Christophe Couderc, "Corneille traducteur de Lope de Vega: le cas de *La Suite du Menteur*", *Revista de Linguas Modernas*, n 14 (2011), pp. 137–145.

199 Cioranescu, *Le masque*, p. 455.

200 Felice Gambin, "Gracián desde fuera", in Aurora Egido and María del Carmen Marín Pina (coord.), *Baltasar Gracián: estado de la cuestión y nuevas perspectivas* (Zaragoza, Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2001), p. 166.

201 Suzanne Guellouz, "Gracián en la Francia del siglo XVII", *Anthropos*, 37 (marzo 1993), pp. 93–104.

202 Andrée Mansau, "Recepción/traducción de Gracián en Francia", *Anthropos*, 37 (marzo 1993), p. 87.

who, despite the controversies involved, contributed to the dissemination of Gracián's works between 1723 and 1732.<sup>203</sup> These elements provide more than enough evidence for understanding the success of the Spanish author, who was to become a focus of intellectual debate, in confrontation with several of the most important cultural figures of the day. Indeed the Spanish Jesuit was to have a clear influence on several important French authors of the eighteenth century, such as La Rochefoucauld,<sup>204</sup> La Bruyère and Chamfort, among others.

Certain works by Gracián's fellow Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg could likewise be found in the Parisian bookshops of the Age of Enlightenment. Specific examples include a Belgian edition of his famous *Aforismos*, which was one of the spiritual publishing successes of the eighteenth century; along with an illustrated edition of his likewise widely known ascetic-mystical work *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno*, and his translation of Kempis's *Imitacion de Christo*, published in Paris in pocket (*octodecimo*) format in 1713. As would be expected, given their "best-seller" status, these works appeared in several of Briasson's catalogues.

The roster of authors from the Spanish Golden Age stocked by the bookshops of Paris is completed with the works of the playwright Calderón de la Barca. The city's *Rive Gauche*, the left bank of the Seine, was home to Prault's bookshop, where the passer-by might browse through various volumes of the famous *Comedias* of Calderón, particularly the edition printed in Madrid in the seventeenth century. Together with Lope de Vega, Calderón was the Spanish playwright whose works were most widely performed on the French stage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>205</sup> To take just one example, the year 1778 saw the publication by the notable printer Didot l'aîné of Calderón's verse drama in five acts entitled *L'Alcalde de Zalamea*. History also records

203 Mansau, "Recepción/traducción", p. 89.

204 Gracián's influence on La Rochefoucauld is based on him having supplied, via Mme. de Sablé, certain maxims extracted from the *Oráculo Manual y El arte de Prudencia*, which the French writer then included in his famous *Maximes*. Laurent Thirouin, "La pensée du hasard chez Gracián et La Rochefoucauld", *Revue des langues néo-latines*, 84e année, fascicule 2, 273 (1990), p. 17.

205 Catherine Marchal-Weyl, "Calderón de la Barca adapté par Scarron: effets de la francisation sur la structure de la *Comedia*, dans *La Fausse Apparence*", in Christophe Couderc (dir.), *Le théâtre espagnol du Siècle d'Or en France. De la traduction au transfert culturel* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2012), pp. 177–189; Marc Vitse, "Don Fernand Centellas et don Diego de Luna, les faux astrologues de Thomas Corneille et de Pedro Calderón de la Barca", in Christophe Couderc (dir.), *Le théâtre espagnol du Siècle d'Or en France. De la traduction au transfert culturel* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2012), pp. 194–206.

how French playwright Jean-François Cailhava de L'Estandoux used several of Calderón's comedies to compare his drama to the French theatre of the day.<sup>206</sup>

Calderón himself figures as an "auteur comique" in these plays, in reference to the subject that the sellers of Spanish authors and books disseminated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when humour took precedence over wisdom. Some authors have considered this phenomenon to be a "mask" (the comic aspect), which prevented readers seeing the true "face" (the formal and profound side) of Spanish literature.<sup>207</sup>

It was possible to contemplate this light and shade of Spanish literature in the bookshops of Paris. The booksellers' catalogues included, as well as the authors already mentioned, certain minor names that are no less interesting. We find among the writers of the sixteenth century such entertaining authors as Huarte de San Juan and Melchor de Santa Cruz; along with the more orthodox Melchor Cano and Castillo de Bovadilla. Huarte de San Juan, also a physician, was not unknown in France, as Briasson's bookshop in Paris stocked a 1702 Brussels edition of his works, published in Spain's neighbor in the sixteenth and seventeenth century despite the censure of the Inquisition; something which in itself lent these works a certain attractiveness. Its true merit nevertheless lay in the influence that Huarte's thoughts, particularly his opinions regarding moods, had on Cervantes' melancholy hero Don Quixote and his highly-refined madness.<sup>208</sup> The latter author had his place, as we have seen, in all French literary manifestations. The list is rounded off nicely by another little book sold by Briasson: Melchor de Santa Cruz's *La Floresta española*; a compendium of droll anecdotes and funny tales providing a vivid portrait of what the French public most liked about Spain's Golden Age.

The light-hearted nature of these works contrasted with the more sombre vision of Spain that we find in the works of Cano and Bovadilla. Cano, a Dominican friar, represented the reactionary spirit of Catholicism contrary to any relaxation of doctrine; as represented in his *Obras* printed in Padua in 1734 and sold in De Bure's bookshop. Bovadilla's manual of good political conduct on the other hand, *Política para corregidores*, published in Amsterdam at the turn of the eighteenth century and on sale at Jombert's bookshop, was in fact a moralistic work far removed from the Renaissance humanism that examined

206 Jean-François Cailhava de l'Estandoux, *Notices pour servir à l'histoire des théâtres, lues à la troisième classe de l'Institut* (Paris, Charles Pougens, An VI (1798)).

207 Cioranescu, *Le masque*, p. 205.

208 Pedro García Martín, "Don Juan Huarte de San Juan: el doctor que anticipó la melancolía de Don Quijote", *Medicina y seguridad del trabajo*. 55(214) (2009), pp. 119–131.

Christian morals and virtues for ways to promote the ethical exercising of power.

The booksellers of Paris augmented the above list of authors with an assortment of seventeenth-century writers in various disciplines. The biggest genre of all was history, which in eighteenth-century France constituted, along with the sciences, the arts and *belles-lettres*, the main contents of public and private libraries alike. The list of classics concerned includes various lavishly illustrated eighteenth-century editions of *La Historia de la conquista de México* by Antonio de Solís, which could be found in the respective bookshops of Barrois, Briasson and De Bure. Briasson's shop on the legendary Rue Saint Jacques also stocked the seventeenth-century work *La Historia de Carlos v* by Prudencio de Sandoval. Cardinal Bentivoglio's *La Historia de las guerras de Flandes*, likewise from the 1600s, was printed outside Spain, as were all the other historical works mentioned here, and now sold by Barrois.

Outstanding items under the heading of Arts and Sciences include the works of Father José Zaragoza, a prominent Spanish novator vital for understanding the emergence of the Enlightenment in Spain. His works on mathematics and astronomy revolutionised the Spanish view of science, with books such as *Arithmetica universal* (1669), *La Trigonometría* (1672), or *La Esphera celeste y terráquea* (1675), which could now be bought at the Paris bookshop of Briasson. It is coincidence that the Spanish Jesuit author was well known in Parisian scientific circles, with particular reference to the famous Académie des Sciences. His observations on the comet sighting of 1677, as related by the Frenchman Cassini, with whom he maintained a correspondence, were the first to be made in Europe, and were mentioned in such important publications as the *Journal des Savants* or the *Mémoires de la Académie des Sciences*.<sup>209</sup> This once again shows how booksellers were up-to-date regarding the cultural and scientific advances of the day.

Indeed the booksellers of Paris stocked some of the most representative names of Spain's literary renewal, such as Nicolás Antonio, from Seville and best known for his works on bibliography. One of his "Prefacios" to the *Bibliotheca Hispana nova*, published under the title *Literatura española*, could be found on sale at De Bure's bookshop in 1788. It was in fact not difficult to

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209 Víctor Navarro Brotons, "El movimiento novator en la España de finales del siglo XVII y las disciplinas físico-matemáticas", in *La ciencia en la història dels Països Catalans* (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007), p. 4. Volume I of the *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris* (1783), includes, in its section on astronomy: "Mr. Cassini reçut des observations de cette comète faites à Madrid par le P. Saragossa jésuite, & les compara avec les siennes", p. 154.

find the works of Nicolás Antonio in private French libraries of the day, including that of Colbert, Louis XIV's all-powerful first minister and founder of the French National Library.<sup>210</sup>

The pastoral and picaresque genre that was one of the traditional mainstays of Spanish literature of the Golden Age was likewise not difficult to find in the libraries and bookshops of eighteenth-century Paris. The editions and translations published confirm that both subjects were already highly appreciated by the French public of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Let us begin with the first of these: the pastoral genre. It was possible, in the bookshops of both De Bure and Prault, to buy one of the classic works of the genre, *Diana enamorada* by Gaspar Gil Polo, who was both a poet and lawyer. De Bure sold the Madrid edition of 1778, edited by Francisco Cerdá y Rico, who added a large number of scholarly notes on both the author and the writers mentioned in "Canto de Turia".<sup>211</sup> Prault meanwhile, who had held "privileges" on the work since 18 July 1732, allowing him to print 148 copies, sold the edition printed in London in 1739.<sup>212</sup>

The intention of Gil Polo's *Diana* was to continue on from the work of the same name by Jorge de Montemayor, printed in the mid-sixteenth century, which inaugurated the pastoral genre in Spain. The subject enjoyed enormous popularity among the (especially female) aristocracy and its noble *hidalga* equivalent in Spain. Montemayor's works were meanwhile published in Paris by, among others, the previously mentioned bookseller Briasson. In 1735 he printed a *nouvelle traduction* of *Diane*, adding "Le roman espagnol" to the title in order to prevent confusion with the countless other translations that already existed of this Spanish work.<sup>213</sup>

The subjects dealt with in *Diana*, ostensibly in the speech of shepherds, included "the disruptive effects of passionate love, the risks to fortune in cases of love and the dangers of evil women".<sup>214</sup> The book, which had achieved great success in France in previous centuries and now especially, in the eighteenth century, on the French stage, was clearly reminiscent of an author

210 *Bibliotheca Colbertina*, p. 287. Register no. 4173 includes the book "Nic. Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana nova. Romae, 1672. 2 vol. mar."

211 Gaspar Gil Polo, *Diana enamorada*, Edición de Francisco López Estrada (Madrid, Castalia, 1988), p. 54.

212 Weil, *L'interdiction*, p. 201.

213 Jorge de Montemayor, *Le roman espagnol ou nouvelle traduction de la Diane. Écrite en espagnol par Montemayor* (À Paris, Chez Briasson, 1735), p. xx.

214 Gil Polo, *Diana enamorada*, p. 31.

as appreciated as Cervantes.<sup>215</sup> Its intellectual line would be continued by other Spanish authors likewise stocked by the bookshops of Paris.

Specific examples include the lawyer Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, whose work *La constante Amarilis* continued the pastoral genre. De Bure was merely sounding out the tastes of his French readership regarding a literary category that had already achieved popularity in the previous century, as the initial 1609 Valencia edition of the work was immediately followed by the French translation of 1614 by Nicolas Lancelot, a narrative writer from Paris.<sup>216</sup> A single edition of the book was reissued in the eighteenth century by the Madrid printer Antonio de Sancha, who placed the book "a la altura de las *Dianas* de Montemayor y Gil Polo."<sup>217</sup> It was precisely this edition, in octavo format, which was to be found in De Bure's bookshop in 1788.

When it came to picaresque literature, the Paris bookshops of both Briasson and De Bure in particular stocked one of the most representative works of the genre: Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*. Translated French editions of the work were the second most numerous after the Spanish originals. Briasson in particular stocked one of the first editions, the Burgos edition of 1619; while De Bure offered a three-volume pocket edition printed in Paris in 1733 and published by another famous bookseller with a Spanish connection, Guillaume Cavelier. This latter edition was easy to find in various private book collections of eighteenth-century Paris.<sup>218</sup>

Guzmán's success in eighteenth-century France was largely due to one of his main translators, the previously mentioned Lesage, who rendered the Spanish picaresque novel into French in 1732 as a version clearly "sweetened" and adapted to the more secular tastes of the French public.<sup>219</sup> It is curious

215 Gaspar Gil Polo, *La Diane amoureuse*. Édition, introduction, notes et traduction inédite de l'espagnol par François Géral (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2004), p. xxvii.

216 M<sup>a</sup> Asunción Satorre Grau, Estudio y edición de la *Constante Amarilis* de Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa. Tesis Doctoral dirigida por Francisco López Estrada (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1995), p. 240.

217 Satorre Grau, Estudio, p. 250.

218 After enquiring via Gallica, of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, we have found this edition in the following bookshops and private collections: *Catalogue des livres de fonds & d'assortiment, qui se vendent chez Robin, libraire, rue des Cordeliers*, Paris, 1765–1766; *Catalogue de livres de M. le marechal Duc de Luxembourg* (A Paris, Chez Pissot, 1764); *Cabinet choisi ou Catalogue d'une collection de livres fort curieuse en toutes sortes de facultés & langues* (A Paris, chez Davidts, 1768).

219 Christian Wentzlaff-Eggebert, "El *Guzmán* francés de Lesage", in *Atalayas del "Guzmán de Alfarache"* (Sevilla, Universidad, 2002), p. 274. For a more ample vision of Lesage's involvement in Spanish picaresque literature: Cécile Cavillac, *L'Espagne dans la trilogie*

to note that the same period of 1715 to 1735 saw the Spanish public get its first opportunity to familiarise itself with the French novelist's most famous work, *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*. Likewise a work in the picaresque tradition, and despite the fact that its author did not know Spain, it drew on travellers' tales and other novels in the genre to offer the French reader, once again, an image of "baroque" Spain. It is interesting to note in this respect that Briasson's bookshop stocked one of the works that attacked Lesage most harshly, specifically *Genealogía de Gil Blas de Santillana* (1792) by soldier – author Bernardo María de la Calzada, who was persecuted and put on trial by the Inquisition for his indiscriminate love of French customs and ideas and his desire to introduce them into Spain. This work denies Lesage's authorship of *Gil Blas*, noting that he translated the work from a book entitled *Vie de don Alphonse de Liria, fils de Gil Blas de Santillana* (Amsterdam, 1754), which was erroneously attributed to Lesage.

*Guzmán* brings us once again to a subject, the entertainment novel, which reached its high-point with *Don Quixote*. Indeed if it were not for the former, the latter would not exist. Alemán's book, which is the starting-point of the modern novel, became a universal best-seller which French readers liked for its subversive character; critical of everything imaginable. The work could be read on two levels: a popular, superficial one and a camouflaged one that held more daring positions regarding institutions and customs.

In view of the results, it is clear that Spanish literature of the Golden Age predominated in the catalogues of the booksellers of eighteenth-century Paris, although it did not prevent other genres having a certain attraction for the readers of the day. One of the literary subjects that enjoyed great success in France was, as already mentioned, the art of war; and it was possible to find works relating to fortifications (Cepeda and Adrada) and military history (Bentivollo, Carnero, Oliver, Fullana and Orejón Gastón) on the premises of the same bookseller, Briasson, and in his catalogue of 1730.

The booksellers of Paris likewise stocked items translated into Spanish, including the works of such famous seventeenth-century religious authors as Bossuet, Fleury, Nicolas Caussin, Fléchier or Bourdaloue. Nor did they lack minor religious works from the Hispanic world, such as books of devotion (Sierra), or an interesting, anonymously printed book sold by Briasson and entitled *Incentivo del alma y piedra iman de los corazones* (1671). This book suffered censorship, like the 1699 Madrid edition, and was also included in successive versions of the *Index* of forbidden books. It is curious that all these

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"picaresque" de Lesage. *Emprunts littéraires, empreinte culturelle* (Lille-Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1984).



publications, along with those of other European authors such as the Portuguese historian Manuel de Faria y Souza or the Italian poet Guarini, were only sold in Briasson’s bookshop, thereby demonstrating the owner’s remarkably open attitude to other languages and cultures, in addition to those of Spain.

Although it was rather classical in nature, the repertoire of Spanish authors stocked by the booksellers of Paris responded to a certain air of modernity that they perceived in the authors concerned. These could be historians, humanists, religious writers or scientists, provided they showed signs of the sprouting of cultural renovation that they sought to disseminate in the Paris of the day. These authors tied in perfectly with the ideals of historical criticism, scientific experiment, Jansenism, the popularisation of literature and criticism of a stratified society, along with other principles. We find this combination of classicism and modernity in one of the most representative works of the French religious revival to be included in the catalogues of Parisian booksellers: Sylvain Marechal’s *Dictionnaire des athées anciens et modernes* (1799), which once again refers to Spanish authors who were “classic” in character but nevertheless “modern” in terms of literary output, as was the case with the scientist Juan Caramuel, the humanist Juan Maldonado and Miguel Servet.<sup>220</sup> This is further proof of how the booksellers of Paris found, in Spanish authors of old, the modernity that they themselves desired.

#### 1.4.2 “Old” Spanish Authors of the Eighteenth Century

The first thing that catches the eye, when perusing the list of Spanish authors in the booksellers’ catalogues of eighteenth-century Paris, is the overwhelming presence of authors from the Golden Age. However, when we come to the works of the eighteenth century, we find to our even greater surprise an almost total absence of the most representative authors of the Spanish Enlightenment, be it Mayans, Pérez Bayer, Feijoo, Campomanes, Jovellanos, Cadalso or others. The few authors that do appear are, save for a few exceptions, of a lesser intellectual stature.

The first question that springs to mind is: What is the reason for these glaring absences? The answer is neither easy nor attributable to a single cause. What does appear true is that the main reasons were linguistic. The language barrier stopped many French readers from accessing or understanding the texts and arguments of Spanish authors of the 1700s. This factor was exacerbated by a lack of works translated from Spanish into French.<sup>221</sup> There were also

<sup>220</sup> Sylvain Marechal, *Diccionario de ateos* (Pamplona, Laetoli, 2013).

<sup>221</sup> To cite just a few examples, there was only one eighteenth century French translation of Jovellanos’ work *El delincuente honrado* (*Le coupable vertueux*, Marsella, 1777); El

political reasons. Despite sharing the same royal dynasty, there were intellectual conflicts, such as those generated by Masson, which tended to distance the two countries from each other. Additional literary considerations included the scant amount of attention that French print media (journals and periodicals) paid to the above-mentioned writers of the Spanish Enlightenment, thereby making them less visible to booksellers.

One of the clear results of this was that grammars and dictionaries became one of the most popular genres of the Parisians of the day. This was no surprise, considering their long tradition of publishing such works. The list is headed by the famous 1791 edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* of the Royal Spanish Academy, printed by Ibarra in folio format. This third edition of the celebrated Academy dictionary was now on sale in the bookshop of Barrois at the rather less than modest price of 36 francs. French readers awaited publications of this type with such impatience that successive editions appeared quite quickly, as was the case with Séjournant's *Nouveau Dictionnaire Espagnol-François et Latin*; the second (1775) edition of which appeared just six months after the first.<sup>222</sup>

Another pastime that became highly popular in France, thanks to the influence of the Maurists and Bollandists, was coin collecting, which could now be studied using the *Diccionario numismático* (1773) of Tomás de Gusseme. Its objective, as the first dictionary to be produced on the subject in eighteenth-century Spain, went beyond the merely technical aspects of the matter that were covered by French equivalents (particularly the work of Jobert), which nevertheless served partly as references. This is what likely aroused the interest of booksellers such as Barrois.

Another of the classic Spanish-language dictionaries, from the Americas in this case, was that of Antonio de Alcedo. His *Diccionario geographico-historico de las Indias* (1786) became an essential work of reference for anyone intent on familiarising themselves with the maps and background of Spain's American territories. De Bure sold a five-volume Spanish edition in quarto format. This

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*Teatro crítico universal* by Feijoo was incompletely translated in 1742–1745 by Vaquette d'Hermilly; Mayans was never translated into French in the eighteenth century; and when it comes to Campomanes, we have only *Jugement impartial sur des lettres de la Cour de Rome* (1770); the *Cartas marruecas* of Cadalso had been translated by the nineteenth century. Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, CSIC, 1981). Orlando Moratinos Otero, *Bibliografía Jovellanista* (Gijón, Foro Jovellanos, 1998), p. 70.

222 M. de Séjournant, *Nouveau Dictionnaire espagnol-françois et latin* (À Paris, chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1775), p. VIII.

subject of the Americas and the Americans provoked great interest among the *philosophes*, as well as having a considerable impact on French public opinion.

A great number of Spanish and French grammars can be found in the Parisian book catalogues. One bookseller, Barrois, whose stock included a wide selection of works of lexicography, appears to have specialised in this field. One of the first on the list is a pocket-sized *Grammaire espagnole* by Abbé Joseph-Emmanuel de Pellizer García, which he composed using the guidelines of the Royal Spanish Academy. We find among the books published in Spain a magnificent work of the French grammarian Pierre-Nicolas Chantreau: *Arte de hablar bien francés*, which was offered in two editions (1786 and 1797); both printed by Sancha of Madrid. One of the best of the grammars published in the eighteenth century for the teaching of French, it includes an interesting supplement at the end, entitled "Bibliothèque françoise ou choix des livres que tout amateur de la littérature doit se procurer".

Barrois also offered a range of bilingual Spanish-French and French-Spanish publications, including classic works by authors such as Gattel, which marked a turning point with respect to the dictionaries of the time. The bilingual dictionary of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century was in fact to take the challenge of adapting to a new public that was different to previous ones. These new users were no longer diplomats, aristocrats and merchants, but rather students and practitioners of French, and even translators. The works of Gattel and Cormon, both of which appeared in the catalogues of Barrois, performed this task to perfection. They also heralded a "democratisation" of the dictionary, by standardising the pocket-sized format that was to make them ubiquitous, and were described as "diccionario eminentemente práctico y manejable por sus dimensiones".<sup>223</sup>

These dictionaries of the Enlightenment provide us with a rich and virtually unexplored source. Designed above all, from their inception in the initial decades of the sixteenth century, for the use of merchants rather than "diplomats", in the manner of the French-Spanish dictionaries studied hitherto, their orientation changed gradually in the course of the eighteenth century, and they were ultimately aimed ... at neither

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223 Juan F. García Bascuñana, "De Gattel y B. Cormon a Capmany y Núñez de Taboada: en torno a ciertos aspectos y procedimientos de la Lexicografía bilingüe francés-español entre 1790 y 1812", in Francisco Lafarga Maduell (coord.), *La traducción en España (1750–1830): lengua, literatura, cultura* (Lleida, Universitat, 1999), p. 118: "eminently practical and usable dictionaries, thanks to their size".

merchants nor “diplomats”, but – guided by tendencies affecting dictionaries in general – at the erudite and scholarly man.<sup>224</sup>

The booksellers of Paris were once more keen to adapt perfectly to the new requirements of the public. The works concerned also had a significant impact in Spain, where intellectuals of the stature of Antonio de Capmany used these French bilingual dictionaries as reference models for their own writings.

As the nineteenth century dawned, Barrois’ bookshop supplied an eager public with French-Spanish works of a decidedly pedagogical nature for teaching purposes; particularly two pocket-format books by S. Baldwin: one entitled *Elemens de conversation espagnole*, along with the interesting *Art de la correspondance en espagnol et en français* (both of 1803).

We also find in the *belles-lettres* section, alongside the linguistic works, a large representation of Spanish literary texts from the eighteenth century. These include such works of literary history as the pocket edition of Cristóbal Pla’s *Colección de varias piezas de los mejores autores españoles* (1803), printed by the bookshops of Reyman in Lyon and Brunot in Paris, and now on sale in Barrois’ shop. The work was a carefully selected compendium of pieces by Spanish authors who had found success in France, such as Cervantes, Quevedo or Tomás de Iriarte, whose *Fábulas literarias* were translated into French in 1797. This recovery by reprinting of literary works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries enjoyed a remarkable boom in eighteenth-century Spain, and the resulting enthusiasm likewise infected the booksellers of Paris, who offered some of the books which were most representative of the trend; particularly those in verse. The works in question sprang from a political milieu that vindicated Spanish culture, by rescuing what had constituted, centuries before, the sum of all knowledge: humanism.<sup>225</sup> What it amounted to in essence was an attempt to recover the “good taste” associated with the poetry of the 1500s;<sup>226</sup> a classicism that supposed the return to a golden age of Spanish

224 García Bascañana, “De Gattel”, p. 118: “Avec ces dictionnaires du Siècle des Lumières, nous touchons à un filon très riche et presque inexploré. Destinés dès les débuts dans les premières décennies du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, surtout aux commerçants et non pas aux ‘diplomates’ comme les dictionnaires franco-espagnols qui viennent d’être étudiés, ils changent lentement d’orientation, au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour se recommander enfin ... non plus aux commerçants ni aux ‘diplomates’, mais à l’homme éclairé: la tendance au dictionnaire général l’a emporté”.

225 François Lopez, “La generación de 1780 y sus parnasos”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 109–102 (2007), Monograph on “La formation du Parnasse espagnol xve–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, p. 711.

226 M<sup>a</sup> Teresa Bautista Malillos, *Poesías de los siglos XVI y XVII impresas en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid, CSIC, 1988), p. 3.

verse. The most typical examples include *El Parnaso español* (1768), a collection of verse by the most famous Castilian poets, edited by Juan José López de Sedano, in collaboration with another collector of such works, the hitherto virtually unknown Valencian Francisco Cerdá y Rico, who now gained fame as a publisher of the Spanish classics.<sup>227</sup> A beautiful octavo edition published by the Ibarra & Sancha printing house, with engravings by Carmona, Maella and Fabregat, was available at Bure's bookshop in Paris. It offered the reader a careful selection of the above-mentioned authors with a successful following in France, including Cervantes, Gil Polo, Quevedo, Suárez de Figueroa, and Lope de Vega, among others. One of the main innovations of *Parnaso* was to include an author, Esteban Manuel de Villegas, who had become an eternal classic of the Enlightenment.<sup>228</sup> This is paralleled by the fact that it was also possible to find, in De Bure's bookshop, one of the best-known editions of the poet Villegas, *Las Eróticas y traducción de Boecio* (1774), a favourite work of budding poets.

This effort to restore the status of *belles-lettres* in eighteenth-century Spain includes the work of Tomás Antonio Sánchez entitled *Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo xv* (1779); likewise included in the De Bure catalogue of 1788. Only the first three volumes were available at this stage, as the fourth was not published until 1789–90. This includes the first appearance of *El Poema del mío Cid*, the works of Berceo, the *Poema de Alexandre* and the book of the Archpriest of Hita.<sup>229</sup> The reading public of eighteenth-century Paris clearly had a strong enthusiasm for poetry, as attested by successive catalogues of the bookseller De Bure. These included everything from works on Arabic poetry (Patricio de la Torre) and epic poems praising the martial spirit, such as the famous *La Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla, to poems that satirised the epic form, like *La Mosquea* (of 1777), which tells of a battle between flies and ants.

In addition to poetry, certain works of scholarship of the Golden Age were rescued by Spaniards of the Enlightenment. This was the case with Francisco Moncada, a humanist and diplomat of the 1600s, whose *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos* (1777), based on Ramon Muntaner's *Crónica*, contributed to this patriotic aspect of the poetic works concerned. It was yet another publication that showed the interest in turning such classic works into engines of modernisation and reform.<sup>230</sup> These tendencies were

227 Lopez, "La generación de 1780", p. 716.

228 Lopez, "La generación de 1780", p. 27.

229 Russell P. Sebold (ed.), *La novela romántica en España. Entre libro de caballerías y novela moderna* (Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), p. 30.

230 Antonio Juárez Medina, *Las reediciones de obras de erudición de los siglos XVI y XVII durante el siglo XVIII español* (New York-Paris, Peter Lang, 1988), pp. 272–280.

shared by the booksellers of Paris, like De Bure in this case, who included these editions in his catalogues of both 1788 and 1796.

He coincided in this with a quite different fellow Parisian bookseller, Briasson, in the republication of a work that was nevertheless already well known in France. Its author was a so-called “crypto-jew” of the seventeenth-century named Antonio Enríquez Gómez, whose work, *El siglo pitagórico*, would have gone unnoticed in the booksellers’ catalogues were it not for its enigmatic title and its writer, better known in France than in Spain, who had fled from the persecution of the Inquisition. Now, in the eighteenth century, the work would be republished in another French city; this time in Rouen. His novel was not published in Madrid until 1788 when, to make matters even worse, various “licentious” passages were deleted.<sup>231</sup> The work had various attractions in Briasson’s view, as its author had lived and been published in France. Its contents were also very attractive, given that they satirised the pastoral novel in the same manner as *Guzmán* or *La Picara Justina*, which were highly popular in France. It also offered a subliminal message, well disguised by circumlocutions, which scathingly criticised and satirised the Spanish Inquisition;<sup>232</sup> a subject that the French always resorted to when attacking the ignorance and backwardness of Spanish culture.

Further evidence of this is provided by the references made to Spanish literature by Madame de Staël in her work entitled *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800), where she harshly attacks what she considers to be the main obstacle to modern philosophy: the Inquisition, and the powerful royal support that it enjoyed. Her criticism reveals a quite open censuring of an eighteenth-century Spain in which rampant superstition still holds sway; only to be saved from the flames, solely and once again, by the works of Calderón and Lope de Vega.<sup>233</sup>

One highly notable factor regarding the Spanish works included in the booksellers’ catalogues of eighteenth-century Paris is that many of them share a common thread that leads us to one author or another. This particular phenomenon is especially true of one bookseller: De Bure. Let us consider the argument that links certain books to others. We have to put ourselves in the shoes of the erudite Parisian bookseller and bibliographer, who one day

231 Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *El siglo pitagórico y vida de Don Gregorio Guadaña*, Édition critique avec introduction et notes par Charles Amiel (Paris, Ediciones Hispanoamericanas, 1977), p. XLII.

232 Nechama Kramer-Hellinx, *Antonio Enríquez Gómez. Literatura y sociedad en el “Siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña”* (New York–Paris, Peter Lang, 1992), p. 33.

233 Madame de Staël, *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*. (A Paris, De l’imprimerie de Crapelet, [1800]), p. 278.

gets hold of a book by a writer little known in Spain, Antonio Rejón de Silva of Murcia, the author of a poem entitled *La pintura*, published in Segovia in 1786. The subject itself might apparently have proved attractive in Paris in that period, given that it was a piece of verse, and therefore a genre that was in vogue at the time. The biographical details of the Spanish writer concerned must also have seduced the Parisian booksellers, given his interest in promoting education for the masses in Spain, via his own works, and his activities as a member of the Real Sociedad Económica de Murcia; an institution that Rejón held in high esteem and which largely represented the ideals that he defended. De Bure might also have observed, likewise with respect to Rejón's biography, that he had worked as a censor, in collaboration with the renowned traveller Antonio Ponz, on the publication of Vitruvius prepared by another prominent Valencian, José Ortiz. His intellectual feats, which must have delighted the Parisian bookseller, are rounded off by his translation from French of the work *Disertaciones de la Academia Real de Inscripciones y Buenas Letras de París*, published in Madrid by Sancha (1782–86), which had been censored by Antonio de Capmany, a reputable academic historian.

This is enough to confirm that Rejón's minor work must have captivated the attention of De Bure in 1796, given that it contained elements, suggestive in their own right, which clearly chimed perfectly with the spirit of the French Enlightenment. These included the promotion of education and of academic institutions, groups and societies (dealing with economics in this case); along with the dissemination of scientific knowledge and translation of the emblematic French works concerned, and those of the Parisian Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, which was a point of intellectual focus for the whole of France. Facts that were relevant in themselves must have encouraged the enterprising bookseller to acquire an interest in some of the individuals associated with Rejón's life, which explains the extensive presence of the subjects and authors concerned in the same catalogue; that of 1796. I refer in this respect to the *Memorias* (1780) of the philanthropic organisation Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País, the *Memorias* (1766) de la Real Sociedad de Medicina de Sevilla; along with the works of Capmany, particularly his *Código de las costumbres marítimas de Barcelona* (1791) and, closely related to this by its tendency to favour economic and social progress in Spain, the famous work by Eugenio Larruga entitled *Memorias políticas y económicas de España* (1787).

The coincidences do not stop here however, as De Bure's catalogue also lists the celebrated *Viage fuera de España* (1785) by Antonio Ponz, which includes the author's impressions of France; along with the "superbe édition", in the French bookseller's own words, of Vitruvius' *Diez libros de Arquitectura* (1787) by José Ortiz. It is also worth mentioning, albeit as a curious footnote, the involvement of Rejón de Silva in the *Tratado* on painting by the artist Antonio

Palomino, whose work likewise figures in the catalogues of the Parisian booksellers commented on here; but in those of Briasson rather than De Bure. There are in short too many coincidences for us to think that Rejón's work did not in some way influence the commercial approach of the Parisian bibliophile.

The previously mentioned shop on the *Quai des Augustins* did in fact acquire some of the most prized books of eighteenth-century Spain, with a marked preference for literature, in the shape of novels like Pedro Montengón's *Eusebio* (1784), which speaks of a reformed utopia that ties in perfectly with the political principles of the Enlightenment at its height. Its author had in fact drawn inspiration from some of the most radical of the *philosophes* (Bayle, La Mettrie, Holbach), as well as being directly influenced by the naturalism of Rousseau. There are thus more than enough arguments for supposing that De Bure thought, as do certain intellectuals today, that he had before him a novel similar to *Émile ou de l'éducation*. These are works where the eponymous protagonists (Eusebio and Émile) sing the praises of pure, innocent, captivating nature, in the face of progress based on reason and enlightenment.<sup>234</sup>

De Bure's shop also stocked works of poetry and plays, in addition to novels. Specific examples include two plays by ideologically opposed authors: the six-volume *Obras completas* (1787) of the cosmopolitan poet Tomás de Iriarte, and an edition in eighteen pocket-format volumes of *Theatro español* (1785) by García de la Huerta, at the rather high price of 51 *livres*. The latter work unleashed an intellectual debate in which questions of aesthetics gave way to personal diatribes involving such leading scholars as Gregorio Mayans or Juan Pablo Forner, among others, who highlighted the xenophobic attitudes of García de la Huerta.

One genre that was highly in vogue in the eighteenth century was the epistolary text; a logical factor, given the pre-eminence of correspondence as a means of communication. Some of the letters concerned achieved the status of literature *sensu stricto*. The bookseller De Bure included two of the best examples in his catalogue of 1796: *Cartas familiares* (1785) by the Jesuit José Francisco de Isla and *Cartas* (1785), likewise a collection of family letters, sent by fellow Jesuit Juan Andrés to his brother Carlos Andrés. Juan Andrés was a well-known figure in France, thanks both to his friendship with notable persons like Saint-Léger, the librarian of Saint Geneviève, and to the universal significance of his work entitled *Origen, progresos y estado actual de toda la literatura* (1784).

De Bure knew bibliographical works like no one else, which led to him accumulating one of the best collections of rare books of the day. This was

234 Pedro Santonja, *El "Eusebio" de Montengón y el "Emilio" de Rousseau: el contexto histórico (trabajo de literatura comparada)* (Alicante, Instituto Juan-Gil Albert, 1994), p. 15.



reflected in his activity as a professional bookseller, and his shop duly stocked such Spanish bibliographical works as Rodríguez de Castro's *Bibliotheca española* (1781). He pursued for several years a Hispano-Hebrew repertory derived mainly from the Library of the Escorial. De Bure's stock of periodicals including one of the most interesting journals to be produced by the Spanish press in the eighteenth century: *El semanario erudito*, published by Valladares from 1787 until it was suspended by the Floridablanca Decree of 1791. Thirty-four volumes in quarto format were published in all. The Parisian bookseller stocked them, foreseeing that they would be well received in the Paris of the time. We merely have to read the *Prospecto* or any announcement of its publication to realise that it fitted in well with the tastes of the age. In this work, Valladares "mostraba su intención de reivindicar los literatos, los sabios y los autores políticos del Siglo de Oro y principios del s.XVIII, al tiempo que achacaba al clero regular el haber sido la causa de la decadencia de las letras españolas".<sup>235</sup> This duo of Spanish Golden Age and Spanish Church constituted the two subjects most widely appreciated by the French public.

The booksellers of Paris likewise did not neglect another subject with many followers in the city: history. This broad term also covered such disciplines as geography and travel books, likewise demonstrating De Bure's astute ability to smell out commercial opportunity. He offered his loyal customers, in 1788, one of the best examples of Spanish eighteenth-century cartography: Vicente Tofiño's *Derrotero de las costas de España* (1787). Tofiño, the director of the observatory in Cádiz, was not unknown to the French public, as he was a correspondent of the Paris Academy of Science. His work was also clearly inspired by the legacy of French geographers like Manneville, Buache or La Bretonnière, among others.<sup>236</sup> The Spanish cartographer indicated in this manner the debt that he owed to the surveying work carried out by Picard and La Hire, both of them Frenchmen, who had mapped the contours of Spain's Mediterranean coast. French researchers continue to this day to praise the formal superiority of the plates and contents of Tofiño's work with respect to French maps of the time.<sup>237</sup> This was also likely not to have gone unnoticed by De Bure.

235 Ramón Baldaquí, "El regalismo en el *Semanario erudito* de Valladares", *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Moderna*, 4 (1984), p. 341: "showed his intention to vindicate the *literati*, wise men and authors of the Golden Age and early eighteenth century, while at the same time regularly blaming the clergy for the decline of Spanish literature".

236 Olivier Chapuis, *A la mer comme au ciel. Beautemps-Beaupré & la naissance de l'hydrographie moderne (1700-1850)* (Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), p. 233.

237 Chapuis, *A la mer*, p. 233.

It was indeed already possible to obtain in his bookshop, with reference to Spain itself, a key work of travel literature of the stature of Bernardo de Espinalt's *El Atlante español* (1778). Some of the historical works sold by De Bure in his shop were even more important. Two specific examples are the fifteen-volume *Historia de España* (1716) by Juan de Ferreras, and *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla* (1783) by the academic historian Cerdá y Rico. Both works had one factor in common, in their defence of historical criticism and the disapproval of false traditions. It is no surprise to learn that both authors were inspired to a greater or lesser extent by Gregorio Mayans, whose principles of historical criticism and documentary rigour were in turn inherited from Nicolás Antonio and the Marquis of Mondéjar. Ferreras was accused, as was Mariana in his day, of writing a history of Spain as a theologian rather than a historian. This is an argument that does not hold much water, especially if we consider the work concerned, in which past errors were corrected and historical fables dismissed; all with a healthy dose of criticism. These ingredients provided more than enough reasons for translating the work into French. It was published in Paris some years later (in 1742) by Vaquette D'Hermilly;<sup>238</sup> an event that De Bure must have considered when deciding to acquire the original work.

As part of this same tendency to promote Spanish historical criticism, De Bure put on sale, in 1788, the work of one of the main champions of this movement, the Marquis of Mondéjar, in the shape of his *Memorias históricas de la vida y acciones del Rey D. Alonso el Noble* (1783), now issued by Cerdá y Rico, a figure associated with some of the most important publications of the eighteenth century, particularly those written by authors from the Spanish Golden Age.

When it came to things doctrinal and religious, which De Bure likewise could not ignore, he delighted the public with another book which demonstrated his cultural instincts. This was the first literary popularisation of Holy Scripture, no less, from Spain of the 1700s, known as the *Biblia en pasta*, by two Piarists named Scio de San Miguel and Feliu de San Pedro. Their work tied in precisely with those ideals of the Enlightenment that favoured such wide dissemination, and the reading of the Holy Fathers. In this case, the French publisher offered two volumes relating to the "Nouveau Testament".

De Bure's commercial astuteness ultimately responded to demand, which explains his decision to make available the literary, historical, scientific and

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238 *Histoire generale d'Espagne traduite de l'espagnol de Jean de Ferreras; enrichie de notes historiques & critiques, de vignettes en taille-douce & de cartes géographiques par M. D'Hermilly* (A Paris..., chez Charles Osmont, à l'Olivier, Jacques Clousier, à l'Ecu de France, Louis-Estienne Ganeau, à S. Louis, vis-à-vis S. Yves, 1742–1751).

(now) religious works concerned, in his efforts to satisfy the expectations of even the most demanding readers. They were works and authors with whom he believed the French reader would feel an affinity, given that their concerns had much in common with those of certain *philosophes* who shared a sharp sense of modernity.

This tendency was detectable in other bookshops, such as that of G. Martin, which from 1737 sold *Panegíricos*, by Ibáñez de la Rentería, a Spanish writer on politics and a member of the Basque literary society known as the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País*. He was clearly influenced by the thinking of Montesquieu. It was also apparent in books on subjects that were widely read in France, such the art of war, with titles such as *Reflexiones militares* (1727) by the soldier Navía Osorio. This bedside book of key figures like Napoleon could be acquired in Briasson's bookshop.

The listing of foreign authors translated into Spanish in the catalogues of Parisian booksellers also deserves a final mention, although their presence there was barely perceptible. One of these was Goethe, with his German masterpiece *Werther* (1803), now published in a bilingual French-Spanish edition sold in Barrois' bookshop; along with the previously mentioned Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian and his *Novelas nuevas* (1799), and also his novel *Gonzalo de Córdoba* (1801), both of which were available in the bookshops of Levrault in Paris and Strasbourg respectively.

## 1.5 How Spanish Books Reached Paris: The Book Circuits

After responding to questions like "Where could Spanish books be found?" or "Which books could be bought?", we inevitably have to ask the question "How?". This involves finding the channels of communication that made possible the arrival of Spanish books in Paris in eighteenth-century Paris, and their varying levels of success there. There is no single answer to this question, given that numerous parties were involved in the corresponding book trade.

The first of these was via the intellectuals, men of science, artists and others who travelled to France to enrich their education. Although this is not the place to mention them all, we might refer to the example of the botanist Cavanilles to illustrate this particular phenomenon. The Valencian scientist resided in Paris from 1777 onwards, in the service of the Dukes of Infantado, a prominent noble family, engaged as a tutor to the sons of the house. These years of service were extended until 1789, and he used the intervening period to educate himself in his field of science and strengthen his ties with the French literary world. These friendships would have a positive impact upon his return to Spain, resulting

in the arrival of hundreds of books, most of them French and some of them forbidden in his homeland. Cavanilles' *grand tour* did in fact also help disseminate Spanish culture in Paris, via his own works and also certain other Spanish books that he sent to his closest collaborators. These reached not only Paris but also cities like Lyon, where Cavanilles knew there were booksellers he could trust. The works that he sent them included:

- *Novelas de Cervantes*.<sup>239</sup> 12°. 3 vol.
- *Aventuras de Gilblas*.<sup>240</sup> 12°. 5 vol.
- *Gramática castellana*.<sup>241</sup> Última edición.
- *Ortografía*.<sup>242</sup> Última edición.
- *Obras de Yriarte*.<sup>243</sup> 8°.

While this work of dissemination was taking place, other parties such as travellers were likewise contributing to the distribution of Spanish books on the other side of the Pyrenees. The list included French travellers who visited Spain throughout the century, such as the aristocrat and diplomat Jean-François Bourgoing, who proved to be an acute observer in his *Nouveau voyage en Espagne ou Tableau de l'état actuel de cette monarchie* (1797), in which he included certain descriptions of Spanish literature, pointing out that “después de haber transcurrido más de cien años desde aquella lejana época del Siglo de Oro”, things “han estancado y se sitúan en el mismo punto de entonces”.<sup>244</sup> These critical statements were based on knowledge gained from a stay of almost twelve years in Spain, which resulted in his work being full of references to Cervantes,

239 Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, Imprenta de Villalpando, 1799).

240 Alain-René Lesage, *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana, robadas a España y adoptadas en Francia por Monsieur Le Sage; restituidas a su patria y a su lengua nativa por un español zeloso que no sufre se burlen de su nación* (Madrid, imprenta de Villalpando, 1800).

241 Real Academia Española, *Gramática de la lengua castellana, compuesta por la Real Academia Española* (Madrid, por la Viuda de Don Joaquín Ibarra..., 1796).

242 Real Academia Española, *Ortografía de la lengua castellana, compuesta por la Real Academia Española* (Barcelona, En la Imprenta de Matheo Barceló, 1800).

243 Tomás de Iriarte, *Colección de obras en verso y prosa, de Tomás de Yriarte* (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Benito Cano, 1787).

244 Jean-François Bourgoing, *Imagen de la España moderna*. Edición de Emilio Soler Pascual (Alicante, Universidad, 2012), p. 86: “now that more than a hundred years have passed since those far-off days of the Golden Age, [things] have stagnated and become stranded where they were then”.

Quevedo, Garcilaso, Calderón, Lope de Vega, Mariana and others.<sup>245</sup> It also serves as further proof of how anything produced in eighteenth-century Spain was totally ignored. As the Frenchman concerned said: "ni una sola obra verdaderamente filosófica, y pocas o ninguna históricas".<sup>246</sup>

Other travellers, such as Abbé Delaporte, read Spanish books during their long and boring journeys along the impassable roads of Spain. In this particular case, he reported that upon departing from Lisbon, where he had acquired various books, he was reading certain *Annales espagnoles*,<sup>247</sup> probably those of Juan Álvarez de Colmenar.<sup>248</sup>

The travel book was in fact a faithful companion not only of travellers but also of the public in general, who found in it a means of escape and a source of information and instruction.<sup>249</sup> It also allowed eighteenth-century Parisians to find out more about Spanish literature, with particular reference to a collection entitled *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions et romans cabalistiques ornés de figures*, published in Paris and Antwerp between 1789 and 1799.<sup>250</sup> It was always possible to find, in this work consisting of 36 volumes in octavo format, some text or other on travel in Spain or a related subject, where fiction and reality converge. Examples include the *Suite des voyages récréatifs du chevalier de Quévédo* (volume 16); and *Fragment d'un voyage en Espagne* (1788) (volume 28) by M. de la Dixmérie.

Travel, letters and books thus become inseparable elements of eighteenth-century life. This is reflected, in our particular case, in one of the most eminent figures of French cultural life: Jean-Baptiste Boyer, better known as the Marquis

245 Bourgoing, *Imagen de la España*, p. 351.

246 Bourgoing, *Imagen de la España*, p. 364: "not a single truly philosophical work, and few or none that are historical".

247 Jean Sarrailh, "Voyageurs français au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle. De l'Abbé de Vayrac à l'Abbé Delaporte", *Bulletin Hispanique*, tome 36, n<sup>o</sup> 1 (1934), p. 36.

248 *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal contenant tout ce qui s'est passé de plus important dans ces deux royaumes et dans les autres parties de l'Europe, de même que dans les Indes orientales et occidentales depuis l'établissement de ces deux monarchies jusqu'à présent, avec la description de tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable en Espagne et en Portugal. Leur état présent, leurs intérêts, la forme du gouvernement, l'étendue de leur commerce, etc., par D. Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, le tout enrichi de cartes géographiques et de très belles figures en taille-douce* (A Amsterdam, chez François l'Honoré et Fils, 1741).

249 Nicolás Bas Martín, "El viaje como formación: ejemplos de la literatura europea del siglo xviii", *Historia de la Educación*, Num.30 (2011), pp. 129–143.

250 Jean Marie Goulemot, "Nouveautés: les utopies", in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, *Histoire de l'édition française. II. Le livre triomphant 1660–1830* (Paris, Fayard, 1990), p. 295.

of Argens. He left behind letters detailing the experiences of various friends and fellow intellectuals from throughout Europe, in the shape of his famous *Lettres juives* (1738–1742), supposedly sent to a Jew who occasionally stayed in Paris, from which we are able to obtain information about Spanish literature.<sup>251</sup> Jacob Brito is another specific example of someone who travelled to Spain and left behind a thorough description of certain Spanish authors and their works. His selection, which was based on an examination of various private libraries and those of religious communities, led him to criticise the lack of modernity in the books concerned and, on the contrary, the abundance of works by scholastic theologians.<sup>252</sup> It is however worth examining the authors that he did select, particularly those from the fields of history and literature. The list is headed by Antonio de Solís, followed by Sandoval, Antonio de Herrera, Bartolomé de las Casas, Miguel de Cervantes, Mateo Alemán, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Amadís de Gaula*, *Tirant lo Blanch*, *La Araucana* by Ercilla, Lope de Vega and Gracián. It was travel once again, in this case fictional, which served to perpetuate the image of Spain stuck in the Golden Age, with hardly a mention of anything contemporary.

Diplomats residing in Spain became, along with travellers, another channel of diffusion for Spanish literature and culture. We have already mentioned the case of Bourgoing, although that of the Duke of Saint-Simon is more paradigmatic. A lover of literature, he had a good library in his own home, where it was possible to find some Spanish book or other, just as it would be in the library of his father, Claude; with particular reference to a sixteenth-century edition of Louis Turquet of Mayerne:<sup>253</sup>

*Histoire générale d'Espagne, comprise en XXVII livres par Loys de Mayerne, Turquet, esquels se voyent les origines et antiquités espagnoles, les entreprises de diverses nations en celle region, dès le commencement; les guerres des romains, tant contre les carthaginois et naturels espagnols, qu'entre eux mesmes en Espagne durant leurs dissensions civiles, le règne des visigots, invasion des arabes et sarrazins, ressource des chrétiens, naissance et progrès des royaumes d'Oviedo et Leone, Navarre, Castille, Arragon, Portugal, Grenade et autres principautés,*

251 Miquel Batllori, "Espanya a l'Europa del segle XVIII", in Miquel Batllori, *La Il·lustració. Obra Completa*, Vol IX (Valencia, 314, 1997), p. 7.

252 Jean-Baptiste Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *Lettres juives, ou correspondance philosophique, historique, et critique, entre un juif voyageur à Paris & ses correspondans en divers endroits*. T. iv (A Amsterdam, 1737), pp. 193–194.

253 *Saint-Simon en España. Memorias: junio de 1721-abril de 1722*, Estudio introductorio de M<sup>a</sup> Ángeles Pérez Samper (Alicante, Universidad, 2008), p. 39.

*avec les succès mémorables de paix et de guerre, jusqu'au règne de Philippe II.* Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1587, folio.

And this was not the only Spanish work in the possession of the Saint-Simon family, given that the catalogue of Claude's library, in the Hôtel de Saint-Simon on the Rue Taranne in Paris, also contained works by Louis of Granada, Saint Teresa of Ávila and Quevedo.<sup>254</sup> The Saint-Simon collection also came to contain certain volumes by Madame la Duchesse du Berry, including *Amadís de Gaula* and the *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* and the *Histoire de la cour d'Espagne* d'Aulnoy. The Duke of Saint-Simon also chronicled life at the court of Philip V, where he was French Ambassador from 1721 to 1722, and always maintained an affection for Spain, as reflected in his famous *Memoirs*. His library included *Amadís de Gaula* (1615), the works of Louis of Granada, the *Bible* of Casiodoro de la Reina, the thirty-one volumes of the *Histoire de la Révolution d'Espagne*, Mariana's *Historia de España, l'Etat présent de l'Espagne* by Vayrac, a 1713 edition of *Don Quichotte*, Labat's *Voyage en Espagne* (1730) and *Historia de Méjico* by Solís, along with other works.<sup>255</sup>

On the other hand, we cannot forget the role in disseminating Spanish culture, and therefore its authors and their works, that was played by the Count of Aranda during his time at the Spanish embassy in Paris (1773–1787). The correspondence that he maintained with his secretary Ignacio de Heredia and Manuel de Roda, the then Minister of Grace and Justice, clearly reveals his passion for books.<sup>256</sup> It is precisely thanks to Heredia that we know something of his perception of Spanish literature, or rather of certain Spanish works, specifically the edition of Sallust by Ibarra stocked by one Parisian bookseller in particular, Antoine Boudet, who had an intimate knowledge of the world of Spanish publishing. The Spanish diplomat tells, in a letter to Roda, of how Ibarra's book impressed the French bookseller:

Astonished, he blurted out: "Now I understand what provoked admiration in me, in the requests from Madrid booksellers to send them the best editions of the books that they order from me, and I see that this is true on seeing this work". Continuing with the same enthusiasm, he added:

254 Philippe Hourcade, *La bibliothèque du duc de Saint-Simon et son cabinet de manuscrits (1693–1756)* (Paris, Éditions Classiques Garnier, 2010), pp. 19–31.

255 Hourcade, *La bibliothèque*, pp. 47–222.

256 Enrique Giménez López and Jesús Pradells Nadal, "Correspondencia entre Aranda e Ignacio de Heredia con Manuel de Roda, durante la Embajada en París (1773–1781)", in José A. Ferrer Benimeli (dir.), *El conde de Aranda y su tiempo II* (Zaragoza, Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2000), pp. 285–299.

"Milord Bute had not yet seen it, when he told me last month in London that the Spanish did nothing of use. He will surely be surprised when he sees it". He examined it extremely carefully, and calmly gave me the impression that no French or English printer had ever produced anything quite so good; but he nevertheless found certain defects in the engraving, above all in the design.

I was infinitely glad to hear this, because I think it is the first praise of Spain that I have heard from a Frenchman. I entreat Your Excellency to say so to *Señor Bayer*, who will doubtless be just as happy....<sup>257</sup>

The professionals of the French and European book world (booksellers, publishers and *colporteurs*) were likewise a vital part of the process that enabled Spanish books to reach Paris. Most of them did not know Spain other than through its books. These include the Parisian booksellers that are the subject of this study and certain others such as Jean Baptiste Fournier who had, thanks to his friendship and collaboration with Cavanilles, a somewhat deeper knowledge of Spanish culture. We thus find in the catalogue of his establishment on the Rue Hauteville, right in the middle of the Parisian "golden mile" of bookshops, authors such as Nicolás Antonio, Mariana, Pérez Bayer and, naturally, Cavanilles himself.<sup>258</sup> Other booksellers, including the aforementioned Boudet, had a first-hand knowledge of Spanish publishing. When Boudet returned to Paris, he sold and printed various Spanish works, in addition to his promotion of items such as Moreri's famous *Dictionnaire historique*.<sup>259</sup>

257 Jesús Pradells Nadal, "Política, libros y polémicas culturales en la correspondencia extraoficial de Ignacio de Heredia con Manuel de Roda (1773–1781)", *Revista de historia moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 18 (1999–2000), p. 175: "Se quedó pasmado y prorrumpió diciendo: Ahora comprendo lo que antes me causava admiración, de que los libreros de Madrid me encargan que les embie las mejores ediciones de los libros que me piden, y veo que tiene razón a vista de esta obra; y continuando con el mismo entusiasmo añadió: no la había visto Milord But quando en el mes pasado me decía en Londres que los españoles no hacían cosa de provecho, seguramente que quedra bien sorprendido quando la vea. La examinó con todo cuidado, y a sangre fría me dixo estuviera cierto de que en punto a impresión ni en Francia ni en Inglaterra no se había hecho cosa tan buena; pero que en lo grabado hallaba algunos defectos principalmente en el diseño.

Yo me alegré infinito de oírlo porque creo que es el primer elogio que he oído a un francés de España. Puede V.E. decirlo al Sr. Vayer que no dudo lo celebrará igualmente..."

258 *Catalogue des livres anciens et modernes aux plus bas prix possible, qui se trouvent chez J.B. Fournier pere et fils, libraires à Paris*, [1801].

259 There are records of the following book being available from him as a bookseller: *Pragmatica sancion de su magestad en fuerza de ley para el estrañamiento de estos reynos á los regulares de la Compañía, ocupacion de sus temporalides, y prohibicion de su*



One of the publishing houses involved in the trade in Spanish books was the famous *Société typographique de Neuchâtel* (STN), whose sales of Spanish authors and their works clearly reflect the Parisian literary tastes that we have been considering. From 1769 to 1794, for instance, the STN sold works by Spanish authors that include Mateo Alemán, Cervantes, Gracián, Diego Saavedra Fajardo, Francisco Sobrino, Luis José Velázquez de Velasco, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, among others.<sup>260</sup> Cervantes was once again the author who sold most, with 165 sales to his name, most of which were sent to Versailles, thus providing a further indication of Parisian enthusiasm for the Spanish author *par excellence*.

Many of these booksellers and publishers employed supporting networks of *colporteurs* or pedlars, who played an absolutely vital role in the book circuits concerned, given that they acted as intermediaries between Spain and France, along with other countries such as Switzerland. Those of them that concern us here came mainly from the French region of the valley of Briançonnais, a dauphinate whose inhabitants were known as "bisoards", derived from a term meaning "honest men".

We do not know whether they actually possessed this virtue, but we do have records of them being established in Spain and in virtually the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, occasionally forming colonies in places such as Cadiz, under the protection of a commercial monopoly, one of which was created by members originally from the Auvergne, along with some Gascons and others from Limousin.<sup>261</sup> As one French historian pointed out: "hay de todo entre los franceses presentes en España en distintas épocas".<sup>262</sup> They existed as

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*restablecimiento en tiempo alguno, con las demás precauciones que expresa* (En Paris, en la imprenta de Antonio Boudet. 1767, 1767); in his role of printer, he produced various works relating to the Spanish Jesuits: *Recueil des ordres donnés pour le bannissement des religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus, d'Espagne, des isles adjacentes, &c. &c. &c* (A Madrid, 1767 [-1770]. Et se trouve a Paris chez Antoine Boudet).

260 Information obtained from the database: *The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe, 1769–1794. Mapping the Trade of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel*. Available at: <http://chop.leeds.ac.uk/stn/>.

261 José Antonio Salas Ausens, "Les français en Espagne dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle", in *Les français en Espagne à l'époque moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, CNRS, 1990), pp. 155–171.

262 Jean-Pierre Amalric, "Franceses en tierras de España: una presencia mediadora en el Antiguo Régimen", in M.B. Villar García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal (eds.), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna. Actas del I Coloquio Internacional*. Málaga 28–30 de noviembre de 2002 (Málaga, Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación, 2003), p. 27: "there are all manner of types among the French present in Spain at different times".

“portaballes de village en village, celui de chaudronnier”, like Ramon Gravier, “un extranjero que va de pueblo en pueblo con una librería”;<sup>263</sup> or Noël Gille, “dit la Pistole”, a French book pedlar who appears in various French towns and villages with a variety of books to sell, including “le Don Quichotte”. We know that he sold a copy of the work, on 28 June 1773, to M. Marian, an official at the Castle of Melun.<sup>264</sup> These itinerant vendors linked cities such as Paris to the markets of Southern Europe, including Spain, where it was possible to find them in cities like Madrid. Such was the case of the brothers Barthélemy, known as the “bisoards”, who owed a large part of their fortune to the book trade;<sup>265</sup> along with Barcelona and the booksellers José Orcel and Bonnardel; and Seville, where printer-booksellers such as Francisco Sánchez Reciente came from a family of Briançonnais origin.<sup>266</sup> They naturally all conducted their trade in Spanish and foreign books at the same time, as was the case of a French bookseller in Seville, Bérard, who was closely watched by the Inquisition thanks to his stock of works by authors such as Condillac, some of which were listed in the *Index*.<sup>267</sup> He also received certain Spanish books to sell from the revered Mayans, including *Oraciones sobre algunos misterios de la religión cristiana* (1779).

They were, in short, agents of the booksellers; supporting their commercial and trading activity in the French and Spanish towns concerned. It was from precisely these places that some of the Spanish books that ended up in eighteenth-century Paris were sent. It should nevertheless be noted that this trade in books between Paris and Spain was minor in the context of the publishing world as a whole. Proof of this can be seen in a small sample of ten records of debts owed by Parisian booksellers between 1760 and 1789, where Madrid is mentioned on only one occasion.<sup>268</sup> This is also confirmed by the

263 Laurence Fontaine, *Histoire du colportage en Europe XVe–XIXe siècle* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1993), p. 90: “carrying bundles from village to village, like a tinker”; “a foreigner who goes from village to village with a bookshop”.

264 Anne Sauvy, “Noël Gille, dit La Pistole, ‘marchand foirain libraire roulant par la France’”, *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France*, T.12, n° 5 (1967), pp. 177–190.

265 Didier Ozanam, “Les français à Madrid dans la deuxième moitié du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in Santos Madrazo Madrazo and Virgilio Pinto Crespo (eds.), *Madrid en la época moderna: espacio, sociedad y cultura* (Madrid, Universidad Autónoma, Casa de Velázquez, 1991), p. 131.

266 Clara Palmiste, *L’organisation du commerce du livre à Seville au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle (1680–1755). Imprimeurs, libraires et marchands de livres espagnols et étrangers à Seville* (Paris, Publibook, 2012), p. 251.

267 Lucienne Domergue, “Les français à Séville en 1791”, in *Les français en Espagne à l’époque moderne (xvie–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, CNRS, 1990), p. 236.

268 Sabine Juratic, “La librairie parisienne et le commerce des livres avec l’Espagne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in *Journée d’étude hispanofrançaise. Des livres entre l’Espagne et la France au siècle des Lumières*. Jeudi 21 mai 2011.

shipping records for 1765–1787 of a large Parisian bookshop, that of Desaint. They only cite three Spanish cities – Madrid, Cadiz and Barcelona – as places involved in the establishment's trading activities.<sup>269</sup>

If we assume that trading with Spain represented 11.5% of France's global commerce by value in the period 1775–1777, and that, at the same time, almost 61.5% of the traders established in Spain were French, we can likewise surmise that commercial relations between the two countries were very fluid. Marseilles and especially Lyon were the main points of destination for goods arriving from Spain. We should likewise not forget Avignon, which was one of France's centres of "pirate" publishing, and the point of origin of many books heading for Paris. The Rhône became the main artery of communication linking Switzerland, Italy and the Mediterranean to the French capital.<sup>270</sup> In Spain meanwhile, Cadiz became the main port of contact with Lyon, with a colony of between one and two dozen traders established in the city. Lyon's exports to Spain consisted above all of "beaucoup de papier pour l'écriture, pour l'impression et pour d'autres usages".<sup>271</sup> Marseilles meanwhile became the commercial intermediary between Lyon and Cadiz,<sup>272</sup> as well as being one of the ports of entry of Spanish books.<sup>273</sup>

There were, during all this coming and going concerning books with a Spanish connection, certain legal requirements to fulfil, including the obligation to submit all foreign books that crossed French territory to the Chambre Syndicale in Paris for inspection. French legislation described the trade in books between Switzerland and Spain, with particular reference to "livres Latins, Italiens & Espagnols", which would then embark in Marseilles on what was one of the most widely used routes of those years. Some of these works would end up in the bookshops of Paris. This legal requirement was however of little benefit to foreign booksellers looking for alternative routes. It only served to harm them

269 Juratic, "La librairie", p. 10.

270 Thierry Rigogne, *Between state and market: printing and bookselling in eighteenth-century France* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2007), p. 211.

271 Olivier Le Gouic, *Lyon et la mer au XVIIIe siècle. Connexions atlantiques et commerce colonial* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires, 2011), p. 275: "Much paper for writing, printing and other uses".

272 Olivier Le Gouic, "La réorientation du commerce colonial de Lyon au XVIIIe siècle", *Revue d'Histoire Maritime*, 13, *La Méditerranée dans les circulations atlantiques au XVIIIe siècle* (2011), p. 134.

273 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, *G. Mayans y Siscar. Epistolario xii. Mayans y los libreros*. Transcripción y estudio preliminar por Antonio Mestre (Oliva-Valencia, Ayuntamiento de Valencia-Generalitat Valenciana, 1993). Mayans used the Valencia-Marseille-Lyon-Paris route to obtain Spanish books from the Deville brothers in Lyon, pp. 349–350.

commercially, given the high cost of despatching all the books concerned to censors based in Paris. It is for this reason that the French authorities took a hand in the matter, preferring to allow these books to circulate on French territory, as this meant profits for the public purse, rather than imposing the requirement to have them examined by the *Chambre Syndicale*.<sup>274</sup>

Books originally sent from Cadiz became the mainstay of French trade in this respect. Some of the most important commercial companies operated from here, with ramifications for France, thanks to *colporteurs* looking for alternative ways to conduct their trade in books. Most of these companies were family businesses, passed on from father to son. The *cursus honorum* would start out as an apprentice before working as a counter assistant in the establishment concerned, possibly as a “teneur de livres” (in the case of a bookshop), and then going on to run the business.<sup>275</sup> The quasi-monopolistic commerce of Cadiz began to decline slowly after the trade-liberalisation decrees of 1778 and 1782, and was particularly affected by the impact of the French Revolution, which also resulted in the expulsion of foreigners (the French among them) from Spain.<sup>276</sup>

The merchants and traders of the Spanish and French ports were the main agents of dissemination, along with intellectuals, travellers, diplomats and members of the book trade, of Spanish literature in France, and in Paris in particular. The French capital was in fact a nerve centre of connections for negotiating with Europe's important publishing houses, which traded in Spanish literature, along with that of other countries. Spain was therefore just one of the places from where the booksellers of Paris obtained their stocks of Spanish authors' works.

This fact obliges us to consider the relative importance that the publishing of Spanish books gained abroad during the eighteenth century, as part of the *chiaroscuro* reality of the world of Spanish publishing during the Enlightenment. Prestigious works by the likes of Ibarra, Sancha, Monfort, Orga and others sometimes hide a stark reality, in that many titles left their hands to be printed

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274 *Arrêt du Conseil d'État du roi, qui ordonne que les livres venant de l'étranger, passant par la France pour aller dans un autre pays étranger, seront dispensés d'être conduits à la Chambre Syndicale de Paris*. Du 23 novembre 1785 (À Paris, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1785).

275 Antonio García-Baquero González and Pedro Collado Villalta, “Les français à Cadix au XVIIIe siècle: la colonie marchande”, in *Les français en Espagne à l'époque moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, CNRS, 1990), p. 189.

276 Jean-Philippe Priotti and Guy Saupin (dir.), *Le commerce atlantique franco-espagnol. Acteurs, négoce et ports (XVe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires, 2008), p. 278.

beyond the borders of their homeland, thereby depriving an outstanding generation of Spanish printers of a considerable part of their potential business.

This is revealed by the places of publication given for the Spanish books listed in the catalogues of the booksellers of Paris. Just 42% of the works concerned were printed in Spain (mostly in Madrid), while the remaining almost 60% were printed outside the country, mainly in Brussels, Antwerp, Paris and Lyon. The Hague, London and various Italian cities completed the list of places of publication.

The first question to ask is "How was a situation created in which Spain's own publishing industry would inevitably have been harmed?" The immediate response relies on economic, political and religious considerations. We should however listen to the testimonies of the day to see if they match what actually happened. One direct witness of the situation was the aforementioned French bookseller Boudet, who for many years acted in the service of various Spanish clients, publishing works whose printing, whether due to cost or technical difficulty, was (according to Boudet) beyond the means of Spanish printers.<sup>277</sup> One such endeavour was the Spanish edition of Moreri's *Dictionnaire historique*, published in 1753. This is a date of great importance in the history of Spanish publishing, as Juan Curiel, Spain's famous "Judge of the Printing Presses", or chief censor, had been appointed just one year before, in 1752. This decidedly protectionist measure was a reaction to a dire situation affecting Spain's printing houses.

But what was this "dire situation"? Boudet was certainly at least partly right when he alleged that Spanish printers lacked the financial resources and skills required by certain editions. But it would be absurd to apply this justification to all the Spanish books printed elsewhere in Europe. Politicians and intellectuals were implicated. Let us consider the circumstances one at a time. Boudet's appraisal of Spanish books printed outside Spain provides a good starting point. According to the French bookseller, most of the Spanish works concerned were published in Belgium, France, Switzerland and Italy and, to a lesser extent, in Germany, Portugal and the United Kingdom. The reasons for this situation of dependence were both economic (Spanish printers' lack of material and human resources) and religious-political (the spectre of censorship).<sup>278</sup>

Our approach in this project solely attempts to examine some of these centres of publishing, which became sources of supply of Spanish books for the booksellers of eighteenth-century Paris.

<sup>277</sup> P. Guinard, "Le livre dans la Péninsule Ibérique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, témoignage d'un libraire français", *Bulletin Hispanique*, LIX (1957), p. 177.

<sup>278</sup> Guinard, "Le livre", p. 180.

TABLE 4 *List of editions.*

	Cities	No. of books
Europe	Brussels	35
	Antwerp	29
	Paris	13
	Lyon	9
	The Hague	3
	London	3
	Cologne	2
	Ghent	1
	Padua	1
	Rome	1
	Turin	1
	Milan	1
	Perpignan	1
	Total:	100 (57.8%)
Spain	Madrid	64
	Valencia	3
	Majorca	1
	Barcelona	1
	Pamplona	1
	Burgos	1
	Seville	1
	Segovia	1
	Total:	73 (42.1%)
	Grand total:	173

Let us begin with the first of these. The publishing of Spanish books in Belgium was centralised in the city of Antwerp in the presses that were successors to those of Plantin were still running in the mid-eighteenth century, when the territories concerned no longer belonged to the Spanish crown. They printed such specific books as breviaries and missals of the so-called *Nuevo Rezado* (or “new prayer book”), thereby highlighting the spurious political and religious interests that dominated the Spanish cultural scene. This dependence had a

certain logic, and was to continue to fill the coffers of the monks of the order of St Jerome at El Escorial, who conducted a thriving business based on the printing of such liturgical works, which resulted in their prices being increased. Furthermore, and to cap it all, there was a perfectly valid and technically proven alternative in the hands of Antonio Bordázar, a printer from Valencia, who presented evidence to the government of Carlos III showing how his printing shop could produce liturgical works of equal quality and at a lower price, thereby putting an end to the Belgian monopoly.<sup>279</sup> The matter became a subject of litigation between the parties concerned; opposing religious leaders, printers and intellectuals. The events took place against a background of government squandering, as foreign printers were engaged to print Spanish books, supposing an enormous snub to the country's own printing houses. The impasse was not resolved until 1764, when an agreement was reached between the monastery of El Escorial and the Royal Company of Printers and Booksellers of Spain, which made the latter responsible for the printing of liturgical books, while leaving distribution in the hands of the monks.<sup>280</sup>

The Antwerp episode devalues some of Boudet's assertions, in that a certain dependence did exist, but not the arguments for justifying it. Spain did in fact have human resources (Bordázar, the Royal Company of Printers), and raw materials at its disposal, along with a casting workshop associated with the Royal Library and a team of highly experienced die-cutters with the skills needed to supply various publishers; all of them Spanish.<sup>281</sup> Alleged censorship was likewise not a valid argument in this context, particularly as the product in question was something as sensitive as liturgical books. Censorship paradoxically did not focus on imported books in this case, but rather on Spain's own printers, who were prevented from printing or selling books of this type.

Another important factor, given the volume of business that it represented, was the publication in eighteenth-century Belgium of various editions of the works of Cervantes. J.F. Broncart, a printer and bookseller from Liege, had agents in Paris, such as Joseph Huchet, who supplied him with all manner of books, most of them contraband; among which could be found some Spanish work or other, but usually *Don Quixote*.<sup>282</sup> This was sure to be one of the many

279 Nicolás Bas Martín and Antonio Espinós Quero, *La imprenta en Valencia en el siglo XVIII: Antonio Bordázar de Artazu* (Valencia, Ayuntamiento, 1997).

280 Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, "Los libros del Nuevo Rezado y la imprenta española en el siglo XVIII", *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, vol. 9, n° 1 (1999).

281 Albert Corbeto, *Tipos de imprenta en España* (Valencia, Campgràfic, 2011).

282 Raymond Birn, "De Liège à Paris: la route du livre à l'aube du XVIIIe siècle", in Roland Mortier and Hervé Hasquin, *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle. XIV. Le livre à Liège et à Bruxelles au XVIIIe siècle* (Bruxelles, Université de Bruxelles, 1987), p. 28.

editions printed in France, as the Bassompierre family of Liege published various editions of Cervantes' celebrated novel, including the version of 1750, based on the magnificent Hague edition of 1746, which was illustrated with artwork by Coypel, Cochin and Boucher, among others, and which provided a model for the editions of 1757, 1768, 1773, and 1776,<sup>283</sup> the last one lavishly illustrated.<sup>284</sup> *Don Quixote* was in fact to enjoy unprecedented success in Belgium during the eighteenth century. This success found no echo among the booksellers of Paris, however, as they sold none of these editions. They did however sell some of the editions printed in Antwerp; particularly those produced by the famous Verdussen family of printers, who published a two-volume edition of the work in 1719 and a four-volume version in 1770.

The presence of Spanish literature in Belgium was in fact monopolised by *Don Quixote*. This dependence was logical, as it responded to a commercial success which did not affect printers of other Spanish authors and their works, and was now reduced solely to the work of Cervantes. It even helped improve the quality of certain Spanish editions of Cervantes' works, such as that of Ibarra (of 1780), which served as a model for some other European editions, thereby demonstrating the excellent qualities of Spanish printing and highlighting Boudet's erroneous and sometimes deliberately misleading comments on the country's publishing industry.

After Belgium, France was (according to Boudet) the second-largest publisher of Spanish books. This dominant position was centred on the cities of Avignon, Lyon and Paris. Avignon occupied a strategic position very close to the French-Spanish border, which gave it a key role in the production of *livres contrefaits*. Editions produced in the city were exported to Spain. One of the most important printer-booksellers was the aforementioned Delorme, whose stock records reveal the presence of thousands of copies of Spanish works in his warehouse, printed by him for a Spanish readership.<sup>285</sup> He normally used the port of Marseilles when trading with Spain, with onward shipment to Barcelona or Cadiz.

When it came to Lyon, Gregorio Mayans maintained frequent correspondence with Roque Deville, who was one of the city's most important publishers.<sup>286</sup> He travelled to Spain in 1730–31 to seek out Spanish manuscripts,

283 Jacobs, "Don Quijote", p. 61.

284 Joset, "Don Quijote", p. 34.

285 Moulins, *L'imprimerie*, p. 136.

286 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, "Relación epistolar-cultural entre el editor lionés Roque Deville y Mayans", in *Influjo europeo y herencia hispánica: Mayans y la ilustración valenciana* (Oliva, Ayuntamiento; Valencia, Diputación, 1987).



particularly legal texts, for his printing shop. Mayans once more became Deville's confidant, by supplying him with a large number of legal manuscripts, which subsequently formed the basis of Puga's edition of *Tractatus academici*. The enterprise, which was not without its ups and downs, reveals some of the complexities of the publishing business in the eighteenth century. This was not to be the last of their joint projects, as 1733 saw Deville's presses produce *Cartas de Nicolás Antonio, Antonio de Solís y Cristóbal Crespi de Valdaura*, thanks to materials that Mayans had managed to ship to Lyon. Despite attempts by the French printers to work with other publishers, Mayans finally opted for the countries of northern Europe for further projects involving the publication of Spanish works. Reasons relating to typography and printing errors caused Mayans to seek out other, essentially German, centres of publishing.

The Devilles were of course not the only traders of Spanish books, but they were the only publishers of Spanish authors. Other publishing houses in Lyon bought and sold Spanish books. These included the Duplains,<sup>287</sup> who were actually relatives of the Devilles, along with the Bruyset family of printers and booksellers,<sup>288</sup> Jean Posuel of the society of booksellers of Anisson and the booksellers Laurent Arnaud, Philippe Borde and Pierre Borde, among others.<sup>289</sup> The Lyon area occupied a privileged position when it came to the trade in and dissemination of Spanish books, as evidenced by the city's governor Lambert D'Herbigny:

The book trade in Lyon should be considered in relation to foreign countries, and to the interior of the kingdom; on other occasions business flourished in one manner or another, although it is now nothing in the eyes of the French, and afforded little respect by those from abroad. There are only two bookshops that conduct trade with foreign countries, and this is mainly with Spain and the Spanish Indies. This printing is of little value, given the natural laziness of this nation regarding work of any kind, and also due to the rarity and scarcity of paper that the Spanish are obliged to import from Genoa or La Rochelle. The books that are printed for the Spanish are only suitable for them, and are virtually all

287 Brigitte Bacconnier, *Cent ans de librairie au siècle des Lumières: les Duplain*. Thèse, Histoire moderne, Université Lumière Lyon II, sous la direction de Dominique Varry, 2007. Benoit Duplain published a *Catalogue des livres françois, latins, grecs, italiens, anglois, espagnols, &c. Qui se trouvent à Lyon, Chez Benoît Duplain, Libraire, rue Mercière, à l'Aigle*, 1765.

288 Yolanda Clemente San Román, "La librería de la familia Bruyset en 1780", *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 22 (2012), pp. 35–66.

289 Yolanda Clemente San Román, "Los Catálogos de librería de las sociedades Anisson-Posuel y Arnaud-Borde conservados en la Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad Complutense", *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 20 (2010), pp. 353–389.

textbooks on jurisprudence or medicine compiled by local or Italian authors, which makes a good price more than necessary, which is why we keep records of prices in Spain. It is necessary for this reason to inspect the outward beauty of these works, whether it concerns their printed characters or their paper. It is in this latter aspect that the Lyon bookshop suffers, because after paying customs duties and all the fees on the materials used, and in the light of all those cheap and low-value materials that are treated as if they were high quality, the booksellers of Lyon cannot offer the Spanish the good prices that they demand and which they can find in the bookshops of Venice and Genoa, which have for thirty or forty years taken business that once belonged to Lyon. The booksellers claim that they hitherto enjoyed the same exceptions as the booksellers of Paris with regard to everything destined for their art.<sup>290</sup>

Switzerland was one of the main publishing centres for Spain and other European countries in many cases concerning seditious and clandestine literature. Relations between the Iberian Peninsula and Switzerland regarding Spanish books were virtually monopolised by Mayans in this case. He first established relations with the booksellers and publishers of Geneva in 1747, and these continued until his death, to be continued by his brother Juan Antonio. The

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290 Dominique Varry, "Round about Rue Mercière: the people of the eighteenth century book trade in Lyon". Communication au Congrès *Society for the History of authorship reading and publishing conference*, Magdalene College, Cambridge, 3–8 juillet 1997. He includes this quotation from Lambert in his *Mémoire sur la généralité de Lyon*. Manuscrit, 1698: "La librairie de Lyon doit être considérée par rapport aux pays étrangers, et au dedans du royaume; autres fois ce commerce étoit florissant en l'une et l'autre manière, maintenant ce n'est rien à l'égard du dedans, et fort peu à l'égard du dehors. Il n'y a que deux maisons de libraire qui fassent le commerce de l'étranger, le principal est avec l'Espagne et les Indes Espagnoles. L'impression y étant peu en usage tant à cause de la paraisse naturelle de cette nation sur toute sorte de travaux, qu'à cause de la rareté et cherté du papier que les espagnols sont obligés ou de Gennes ou de la Rochelle. Les livres qui s'impriment pour les Espagnols ne sont guere propres que pour eux, et sont presque tous livres scolastiques de jurisprudence ou de medecine composez par des auteurs de leur pays ou des italiens, le bon marché en fait un des plus grands mérites, on en taxe mesme le prix en Espagne par cette raison il se faut bien garder dans ces impressions de s'attacher à la beauté, soit du caractère, soit du papier, c'est en quoy la librairie de Lyon souffre, parce que payant les doannes et tous les droits des matieres qu'elle employe, et ces matieres les plus viles et de moindre valeur payant autant que les bonnes les libraires lyonnois ne peuvent plus faire aux espagnols le bon marché qu'ils demandent et qu'ils trouvent chez les venitiens et les genois, lesquels depuis trente ou quarant ans font une grande partie de ce que Lyon faisoit autres fois, les libraires pretendent que jusqu'à ce temps la ils avoient joüy des exemptions dont jöüissent les libraires de Paris pour tout ce qui est destiné à leur art".

Cramer brothers of Geneva sent European books to Mayans, and he supplied them with news of the world of Spanish literature.<sup>291</sup> One such news item concerned the publication of well-known Spanish books like Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca hispana*, or the works of García Matamoros and José de Pellicer, among others, with their necessary additions. Interest for Spanish literature in Geneva was so great that there were even proposals to publish a *Diario de libros españoles*. The idea enjoyed the support of Mayans, but nothing came of it. During all these comings and goings involving books and ideas, a bookseller from Valencia named Juan Antonio Mallén became the intermediary between his home city and Switzerland.<sup>292</sup> The Cramers eventually had some sixty correspondents in Spain, most of whom were businessmen, booksellers and intellectuals.

The Tournes brothers who were, like the Cramers, from Geneva visited Mayans' house in Oliva, together with François Grasset from Lausanne, with the intention of examining, and eventually publishing, his magnificent Spanish manuscripts. This joint enterprise resulted in the publication of the works of Sánchez de las Brozas, along with a series of ideas which did not materialise. Grasset for his part proceeded with the publication of *Clarorum valentinorum* (1767), which included contributions by Pedro Juan Núñez, Bartolomé José Pasqual and Martí, with Mayans accounting for the rest of the work. This edition was one of almost ninety works by Spanish authors to be published in Geneva.<sup>293</sup>

The figures show how the much-lamented crisis in the Spanish publishing world that Boudet and others spoke of was sometimes fostered and exacerbated by the very Spanish intellectuals whom the situation affected. The decision to publish Spanish books in Switzerland clearly promoted the dissemination of Spanish literature in Europe, while depriving Spain's own printing houses of valuable texts.

According to Boudet's records, Italy supplied more than half of the books imported by Spain. The list of sources is headed by Venice, followed by Rome, Milan and Lucca. It was precisely in the latter town that Jose Rochi published Antonio Agustín's *Opera omnia*, thanks to manuscripts provided to him by Mayans. This book responded very well to the needs of Italian publishers

291 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, "Los libreros ginebrinos y la Ilustración española", in *Influjo europeo y herencia hispánica. Mayans y la Ilustración valenciana* (Oliva, Ayuntamiento, 1987), pp. 135–157.

292 Nicolás Bas Martín, "Un soplo de aire fresco: libros franceses en los Catálogos del siglo XVIII de la librería Mallén de Valencia", *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, vol. 23, n° 1 (2013), pp. 173–201.

293 Georges Bonnant, *Le livre genevois sous l'Ancien Régime* (Genève, Droz, 1999), pp. 52–54.

and printers, who were more interested in the Latin and Greek classics used for teaching purposes, along with liturgical works. Spanish-language books also had their place in this respect, and were usually published with a false imprint.<sup>294</sup> We cannot conclude this summary of the Italian-based publishing of Spanish books without citing the reissue of Leandro Fernandez Moratin's *La comedia nueva* (1796), produced in Parma at the famous printing works of Bodoni. The work stands out because it is the only item from the Italian typographer's extensive catalogue to be published exclusively in the Castilian language.<sup>295</sup>

Germany was probably the country to show most interest in Spanish culture, and this had a logical explanation. Mayans had managed to become better known and more popular in Germany than he was in Spain, and this opened up endless possibilities for the publication of his own works and those of other Spanish authors alike. It was in this context that Baron von Schönberg of Saxony travelled to Spain in 1729–30 to seek out rare and costly Spanish books, while bitterly complaining of the total lack of catalogues of books published in Spain.<sup>296</sup> The German noble acted as liaison for the subsequent correspondence between Mayans and Mencke, who edited a Leipzig periodical entitled *Acta eruditorum*, and also a Dutch publisher named Pierre d'Hondt, who reprinted the Latin edition of *Historia de España* in 1734, thanks to Mayans. They all had a common interest in knowing what was being published in Spain. Mayans set to work in this respect, distributing various pieces of information about Spanish authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of whom Von Schönberg's librarian, M. Augustus Beyerus, included in his *Memoriae historico-criticae librorum rariorum* of 1734.<sup>297</sup>

Mayans succeeded like no other in his efforts to disseminate Spanish culture in Europe, particularly in Germany. His widely known *Epistolarum libri sex* (1732) was frequently quoted by German intellectuals in their conversations with Spanish humanists, jurists, historians and philosophers. Certain Spanish publishing projects even emerged from it, although some of them failed; like

294 Mario Infelise, "La librairie italienne (xviie–xviii siècles)", in Frédéric Barbier and Sabine Juratic and Dominique Varry, *L'Europe et le livre: réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie, XVIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1996), p. 93.

295 Pedro Cátedra, G.B. Bodoni y los españoles. *I. Epistolario de Leandro Fernández de Moratín & Giambattista Bodoni, con otras cartas sobre la edición de "La Comedia nueva"* (Parma, 1796) (Salamanca, Instituto Biblioteca Hispánica del Cilengua, 2010), p. 23.

296 Santiago Aleixos and Antonio Mestre, *G. Mayans y Siscar. Epistolario Mayans y el Barón de Schönberg* (Valencia, Departamento de Historia Moderna, 2002).

297 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, "Mayans y los correspondientes alemanes", in *Influjo europeo y herencia hispánica. Mayans y la Ilustración valenciana* (Oliva, Ayuntamiento, 1987), pp. 51–82.

the attempts made in Leipzig to publish Martí's correspondence in Latin, or the idea of a Danish publisher named Puer to translate Mayans' *El orador cristiano* into German, among others. Other endeavours did in fact bear fruit, like the German edition of Mayans' *Epistolarum* (1737), Meerman's *Novus thesaurus iuris civilis et canonici*, a compendium of the great Spanish jurists; along with the juridical texts of Mayans, which were published in the Netherlands (*Disputationes iuris*, 1752) and in Switzerland (*Ad triginta iurisconsultorum fragment commentarii*, 1764). The edition of *Maiansii vita* (1756) published in Wolfenbüttel and the *Specimen Bibliothecae Hispano-Maiansianae* (1753) printed in Hanover by David Clement had appeared a few years before in the latter's *Bibliothèque curieuse et critique* (1750), a roster of rare books printed in Spain; all thanks to Mayans. This also includes an overview of Spanish incunables, which are listed in Meerman's *Origenes typographicae*.

Mayans' efforts to act as an intellectual bridge between Spain and the rest of Europe highlighted his commitment to the spirit of his age, with all its promising projects and frustrations.<sup>298</sup> It is ironic that his tireless efforts to disseminate Spanish culture did not create a response in countries such as France, where Mayans' name is mentioned only indirectly in one of the catalogues of the Parisian booksellers analysed here. This is despite the fact that, even after his demise and without knowing that he was dead, certain French intellectuals continued to approach him to obtain news about Spanish publications. Such was the case of a gentleman named de Rougens, who told his already deceased correspondent of how he and other scholars had devised a *Bibliotheca analítica*, for which they had undertaken various trips around Europe, and now desired to have "noticia de los libros impresos en España desde el establecimiento de la imprenta hasta el año MD".<sup>299</sup>

The reality was very different, despite this interest in corresponding with Mayans. His actual presence in the catalogues of the booksellers of Paris, such as that of Barrois, was limited to his *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes* published in London in 1738, the first biography of the author of *Don Quixote*. It was probably the most widely published and translated of his works, and initially

298 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, *Mayans: proyectos y frustraciones* (Oliva, Ayuntamiento, 2003), p. 17.

299 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Epistolario XVII. Cartas literarias. Correspondencia de los hermanos Mayans con los hermanos Andrés, F. Cerdá y Rico, Juan Bautista Muñoz y José Vega Sentmenat*. Amparo Alemany Peiró (estudio preliminar, transcripción y notas) (Oliva, Publicaciones del Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 2000), p. 459: "notice regarding books printed in Spain, from the establishment of the printing press until the year MD". Letter from J.A. Mayans to J. Vega Sentmenat, 8 November 1783.

appeared thanks to his friendship with the British Ambassador in Madrid, Benjamin Keene.<sup>300</sup> The work then became a permanent fixture on the shelves of the bibliophiles of eighteenth-century Britain, who – despite not possessing large numbers of Spanish books – showed great interest in the culture and language of Spain.<sup>301</sup>

It is against this background of consensual, voluntary or justified dependence regarding the publication of Spanish books in Europe as a whole that a seemingly paradoxical fact emerges. The intention of the famous 1752 edict of Juan Curiel, Spain's chief censor, was to stop the country's economy draining away. It did so by encouraging domestic industry, in this case the printing sector. It expressly prohibited, under pain of death, all imports of Castilian-language books printed abroad. This protectionist policy should "logically" have enjoyed the support of intellectuals and anyone involved in book publishing (printers and booksellers). But it was not to be. The actual result was that some intellectuals (like Mayans) and printers and booksellers (like Francisco Manuel de Mena) criticised these measures and defended the prevailing *status quo*. It is no coincidence that Mayans and Mena were related, as Mayans took the opportunity to import and sell foreign books; while Mena did not hesitate to fulfil his plans by expanding his network of patronage and commerce.<sup>302</sup> The situation is less surprising when seen in the light of individual interests taking precedence over the common good. In the context of the religious publishing project known as *Nuevo Rezado*, Mayans was an intellectual supporter of the printer Bordázar, who condemned the injustices being committed because they affected Spain's printing industry. Mayans now changed sides and began to criticise Curiel's protectionism and encourage the publication of Spanish books outside Spain, as he would ultimately acquire the works concerned.<sup>303</sup>

Curiel's controversial edict was in truth an episode that highlighted the fragility of Spain's world of publishing.<sup>304</sup> It was in fact not a measure of any great

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300 Mayans y Siscar, *Epistolario*, p. 269.

301 Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, "Los libros españoles del comerciante escocés David Steuart", *Revista de Literatura*, LXII, 123 (2000).

302 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, "Francisco Manuel de Mena: la ascensión social de un mercader de libros proveedor de la elite ilustrada", *Revista de historia moderna*, n. 4 (1984).

303 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, "Informe de Mayans sobre el auto de censura de libros establecido por Juan Curiel en 1752", in *El mundo intelectual de Mayans* (Oliva, Ayuntamiento, 1978).

304 François Lopez, "Un aperçu de la librairie espagnole au milieu du XVIIIe siècle", in *De l'alphabétisation aux circuits du livre en Espagne: XVI–XIX siècles* (Toulouse, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), p. 399. Curiel's edict was accompanied by a general inspection of Spanish bookshops designed to verify booksellers' stocks, with particular reference to Spanish books printed outside Spain.

success, in particular because of the centralised censorship that it imposed, although it did manage to put paid to the extreme difficulties arising from the importation of Spanish books.

The measures do not in any case appear to have been applied with rigour, and they did not limit the publication of Spanish books elsewhere in Europe. The booksellers of Paris, who relied on various suppliers of Spanish books, were aware of this. Their contacts with other European publishing houses and bookshops allowed them to acquire Spanish works at a good price and at less risk. In this criss-crossing of traffic between Spain and France, booksellers used seaports (Cadiz, Marseilles and Bilbao) and also the land routes leading to Bordeaux, Bayonne and Vitoria, or the roads that linked Lyon, Perpignan, Marseilles and Alicante. Bayonne was also the home of a bookseller named François Trebosc, who was dragged off to the Bastille for printing Spanish books, including *Apologie de la conduite des jésuites dans le dernier soulèvement arrivé en Espagne* and an edition of the final pastoral address of the Archbishop of Paris, translated into Spanish.<sup>305</sup>

Traces of Spanish literature can be found along virtually all of these routes. The books that reached Paris from other parts of Europe were transported overland on horseback or by cart, via a network of middlemen who conquered all manner of obstacles in their efforts to bring Spanish culture to Paris, which was the capital of both France and the eighteenth-century world in general.

## 1.6 Conclusions

Spanish literature was most definitely not, from either an economic or cultural point of view, the main object of desire of the booksellers and readers of Paris. On the occasions when it was, those involved would have to investigate their market very well in order to offer an attractive product, which in any case usually corresponded to something from the Spanish Golden Age. This statement should definitely not lead to confusion when identifying this preference for a darker side of Spain; one that was archaic or at least retrograde – given that the authors selected by the booksellers generally fulfilled the criteria of comedy, entertainment and above all modernity.

We do however receive, if we stop doing what Pageaux referred to as "talking books", the impression that eighteenth-century Spain was virtually ignored not only by the most famous intellectuals of the day (save for certain exceptions),

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305 Hardy, *Mes loisirs*, p. 179. The pastoral letter is by Christophe de Beaumont, *Instrucción pastoral del arzobispo de Paris, sobre los atentados hechos à la autoridad de la iglesia, por los decretos de los tribunales seculares, en la causa de los jesuitas*. s.l., s.n., 1764.

but also by the booksellers involved, who ultimately had to serve the market at which their goods were aimed. The French were not aware of the changes that were taking place at all levels in Spain at the end of the eighteenth century. Spain corresponded, in the eyes of the French, to the culture of the Golden Age rather than that of the Enlightenment.<sup>306</sup> The praise heaped on Spanish literary works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was intended, in a rather misleading way, to highlight a backward and anachronistic idea of Spain. This nostalgia for a distant past effectively amounted to contempt for the Spain of the Enlightenment.<sup>307</sup> It concerned the mediaeval Spain that fired the imagination of a large contingent of *philosophes*, aided and abetted by booksellers.

Spanish literature was generally more widely read in translation than it was in the original, to the extent that even *Don Quixote* became a sort of best-selling paperback of its day. This was a response to both linguistic and commercial criteria. If one thing is clear, it is the sharp commercial instinct of the booksellers of Paris, who took the risks required to offer an actual and potential public a product that was as affordable and diverse as possible.

In this sense, the booksellers found intellectual modernity among the supposed “ancients”, while the so-called “moderns”, who were the most significant authors of the eighteenth century, were conspicuous by their absence. This impression perfectly matches what we know of the Spanish literature that circulated in various different manners in the Paris of the day. Periodicals, bibliographies, catalogues, book auctions and letters all perpetuated an image of Spain that was firmly anchored in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the *philosophes* contributed to this greatly in their own works. Eighteenth-century Spain was meanwhile silenced for various linguistic, political, economic and other reasons. In one way or another, Spain’s intellectual life of the day was consigned to the periphery of a Europe busy with the process of modernisation.

This is how the Spanish literary canon came to be headed by a *Don Quixote* that was read in French and printed elsewhere. It was in particular this lack of knowledge of the Spanish language on the part of the French that led to various attempts by booksellers to promote Spanish grammars and dictionaries. Indeed this lack of knowledge of the Spanish language is what deprived Parisians of a better and deeper understanding of Spanish culture. The comical aspect of Cervantes’ works was closely shadowed by those of Quevedo, Calderón, Mateo Alemán and others; most of whom were listed in the booksellers’ catalogues. Most of these authors’ works were read in pocket editions,

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306 Daniel-Henri Pageaux, “La España de la Ilustración juzgada por la Francia de las Luces”, in Siegfried Jüttner (Hg.), *Spanien und Europa im zeichen der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1991), p. 197.

307 Checa Beltrán, *Demonio*, p. 108.



which was the main format chosen for Spanish literature. When it comes to the eighteenth-century works offered, we note an absence of the authors and works that were the quintessence of the Spanish Enlightenment, as the selection was now limited mainly to republished editions by authors (mainly poets) of the Golden Age.

The whole episode boiled down to the sad fact of Spanish printers' lack of independence, as booksellers' catalogues once more made clear the subordination of Spanish culture attributable to printers elsewhere in Europe. This sorry situation arose from a series of political and intellectual circumstances that were largely incomprehensible. The booksellers of Paris took full advantage of the situation, as they had numerous sources of supply at their disposal; not only in Spain, but in various other European centres of publishing, thereby allowing them to overcome some of the obstacles involved.

Parisian booksellers were therefore able to show an outstanding familiarity with then-current Spanish culture, which they knew how to adapt to the French market. They could identify the tastes of Parisian readers, along with the most attractive subjects, the most sought-after authors and the affordable publishing formats likely to bring Spanish literature closer to their public. Commercial considerations dominated when it came to selecting and acquiring these books. The booksellers involved tended to specialise where Spanish books were concerned. Briasson, De Bure and Barrois were without doubt the retailers most interested in works published beyond the Pyrenees. Their respective establishments congregated on the city's *Rive Gauche*, especially around the "golden mile" of the Rue Saint Jacques, which was home to eighteenth-century Europe's most prominent booksellers.

These booksellers were joined by a considerable number of literature enthusiasts, authors and translators, who sought to print and publish Spanish books in Paris. We can trace all of their activities thanks to the manuscript documents that they left behind, which include applications for the granting of the privileges and other permits needed to publish and print the works concerned. There is thus a strong connection between manuscript sources and the printed items that finally appeared in the catalogues.

As all this went on, the commercial decisions of the booksellers relied on various agents and middlemen. Intellectuals, travellers, diplomats, publishing professionals, traders, and a street-based network that brought news of what was happening in society (centred on the salons, academies and cafés of Paris) all played a role in this respect. These events were subsequently recorded in the correspondence that was so in vogue at that time, and which provided booksellers with the clues needed to fine-tune their selection. It was in this way that Spain left its somewhat limited mark, like a long evening shadow, on the cultural life of Paris.

## The Spain of Alatriste: Spanish Books in Eighteenth-Century London

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way; in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

CHARLES DICKENS. *A Tale of Two Cities*

In April 1701, John Jackson, the favourite nephew of Samuel Pepys, found himself in Spain, busily seeking out books for what would subsequently become one of England's main library sources for Spanish literature. This event was not notable itself, but it did reveal how English collectors of books were concerning themselves with items from Spain. This interest had not been spontaneously generated, but resulted rather from a long tradition of several hundred years' standing, with particular reference to the seventeenth century.

The Pepys Library faithfully reflected a long line of British collectors who had found in the Spanish book a way of delving into the country's culture, which ended up permeating such emblematic institutions as the Royal Society. While it is true that Spanish literature failed to exceed the interest shown in its French counterpart, particularly in the eighteenth century, it did in fact, as we shall see, attract the attention of a select group of booksellers and bibliophiles in their search for Spanish literary works, which were in fact quite affordable. In 1703, just two years after Jackson's visit to Spain, the contents of the library of Robert Hooke were auctioned in England. Hooke had been one the leading

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1 Work completed thanks to an invitation from the Queen Mary University of London to conduct a period of research in London during the years 2014 and 2015 under the supervision of Professors Colin Jones and Mark Curran.

members of the Royal Society, and his collection included a total of twenty-six books in the Spanish language. Copies of *Don Quixote*, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Jorge Montemayor's *Diana*, and the works of Gracián and Boscán were among them, as was a representative set of works by Lope de Vega.<sup>2</sup>

This was not by chance, as "the sixteenth century was the period in which Spanish literature had its strongest influence upon the literature of other European countries". This is also evident in the biggest auction of Spanish books ever held in England. Organised by Maggs Bros antiquarian booksellers in 1927, it included, along with other items, books originally obtained from Vicente Salvá's once-famous London bookshop, the stock of which had ultimately been dispersed.<sup>3</sup>

Spanish works of literature from this transitional period between the seventeenth and eighteenth century were included in the emblematic items held in the library of Dr Daniel Williams, a theologian who lived in the London district of Bloomsbury. Spanish books accounted for 125 of the 6,000 volumes in his collection of mainly literary works, followed by books on history and religion. It included a rich selection of the best pastoral and chivalric literature, with a particular emphasis on the works of Lope de Vega, Góngora, Quevedo and Gracián.<sup>4</sup>

We have to put ourselves into the shoes of the book collector of eighteenth-century Britain to see how he would have handled literary works from Spain. This is no trivial matter, as the Anglo-Spanish political situation of the day did not create a favourable atmosphere for such cultural concerns. Most of the previous century had in fact been marked by a series of military conflicts between England and Spain, which did nothing to benefit the mutual circulation of books between the two countries. On the contrary, it hampered the activities of the middlemen involved, drove up the price of books and created considerable delays that sometimes threatened to prevent payment. The booksellers, as the protagonists of the book trade, knew this well, and did what they could to deal with adversity.

2 Harry Wohlmuth, "Obras en lengua española en Bibliotecas inglesas de la generación de Samuel Pepys: el libro español en los Catálogos de subastas ingleses y otras fuentes bibliográficas de finales del siglo XVIII", in *La memoria de los libros. Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*. Tomo II (Madrid, Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), p. 624.

3 *Books printed in Spain and Spanish books printed in other countries*. Maggs Bros. No. 495 (London, 1927), p. IX.

4 Ángel M. García-Gómez, "A seventeenth-century collection of Spanish books, including Andrada's *Instrucion*, in Dr. Williams's Library, London", in P.E.H Hair (ed.), *To defend your empire and the faith* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1990), p. 267.

But what was the prevalent image of Spain in eighteenth-century Britain (and particularly in the highly populated capital, London)? The usual stereotypes were of course in force, and the Black Legend in particular continued to form part of the public's subconscious thinking. This image softened somewhat by the middle of the century, as evidence of the recovery of the old Spanish Empire became apparent and there was an explosion in the number of British travellers visiting Spain;<sup>5</sup> complemented by those of Spaniards visiting England, as in the case of Antonio Ponz's stay of 1783 or the journeys to London undertaken by various Spanish scientists. The fellows of the Royal Society began, from 1716 onwards, to offer membership to such illustrious Spanish figures as Jorge Juan, Antonio de Ulloa or Casimiro Gómez Ortega, among others.<sup>6</sup> Their contributions increased the Spanish presence in the city and helps to explain why part of Spain's scientific output of the second half of the eighteenth century should be concentrated, after Paris, mainly in London.<sup>7</sup>

This production was echoed by London's booksellers who knew like no one else the market for potential readers – of Spanish books in this case – and how to offer them the best of what was available. They also had at their disposal the news that reached them from various sources, such as travellers, the periodical press, traders and diplomats, or from the allusions that British intellectuals made to Spanish literary works. All this acted as a kind of sounding board, which they used to take the corresponding commercial decisions and acquire the books concerned. It was in this way that a reference made by James Boswell, in his famous *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791), to the “Spanish translation of Sallust”, a clear reference to the equally famous *Conjuración de Catilina* (1772) printed by Ibarra, would be more than enough to awaken an interest in the work on the part of a potential collector or bookseller.<sup>8</sup>

Just as English writers of the modern age “looked to Spain for inspiration, largely on the basis of Spanish originals”,<sup>9</sup> booksellers looked for inspiration in bookshops as they sought out literary and oral sources to enrich their respective stocks. This clearly involved translations to begin with, led – as we shall see – by *Don Quixote*, the 1738 translation of which marked a significant

5 Gabriel Paquette, “Visiones británicas del Mundo Atlántico español, c. 1740–1830”, *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, x (2011), p. 147.

6 Manuel Valera Candel and Juan Francisco López Sánchez and Carlos López Fernández, “Científicos españoles en el Reino Unido (1750–1830)”, *Asclepio*, vol. L-1 (1998), p. 66.

7 Manuel Valera Candel, *Proyección internacional de la ciencia ilustrada española. Catálogo de la producción científica española publicada en el extranjero 1751–1830* (Murcia, Ediciones de la Universidad, 2006), p. 15.

8 James Boswell, *Vida de Samuel Johnson, Doctor en leyes* (Barcelona, Acantilado, 2007), p. 1586.

9 Paquette, “Visiones”, p. 146.

turning point in the international appreciation of Spanish culture. The same occurred with the works of Feijoo, whose translator bitterly complained of not being supplied with any further details of the author, arguing that “no great man dies in France, Holland, Germany or Italy without the news appearing in the periodicals and journals. But when it comes to the Spanish world of letters, we are kept in the dark”.<sup>10</sup> Padre Isla’s satirical novel *Fray Gerundio de Campazas*, which was likewise translated into English in 1772, enjoyed great success among the British public; as did an edition of *The Art of Prudence* by Baltasar Gracián, published in 1705, among other works.<sup>11</sup> Of the scientific books concerned, the most notable translation was probably that of the works of Jorge Juan, including both his *Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional* and his *Examen marítimo*. When it came to historical works meanwhile, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* by cosmographer and historian Juan Bautista Muñoz, which was translated into English in 1797, helped publicise the author’s then-current arguments with the Scottish historian William Robertson.<sup>12</sup>

These translations were not just promoted by booksellers, but also by printers, who helped to disseminate Spain’s culture and language in London. One of these was Henry Woodfall, whose printing shop was in Paternoster Row. He produced two works by Antonio Palomino: *Las vidas de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles* (1742, 1744) and *Las ciudades, iglesias y conventos de España* (1746).<sup>13</sup> Paternoster Row was also home to the printing works of G.G. & J. Robinson, which produced the above-mentioned English translation of Muñoz’s *Historia* in 1797.

However, and as we shall see, these booksellers sold not only translations but also books and pamphlets in the original (in this case Spanish) language. When it came to helping along the corresponding linguistic immersion, nothing was better than a good dictionary, and an historian and translator named

10 Mónica Bolufer Peruga, “Los intelectuales valencianos y la cultura británica del siglo XVIII”, *Estudis*, 27 (2001), p. 303.

11 Fernando Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana. Cinco siglos de autores, editores y lectores entre España y el Reino Unido* (Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 2007), p. 36. We should also cite the work of Francisco de los Santos, *A description of the royal palace and monastery of Saint Laurence*, printed in London in 1760 by Dryden Leach; la *History of the conquest of Mexico* de Solís, printed in London in 1724 by T. Woodward; las *Vidas de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles* by Antonio Palomino y Velasco, printed in London by Henry Woodfall in 1744.

12 Nicolás Bas Martín, “Juan Bautista Muñoz y las polémicas con Europa”, *Estudis*, 27 (2001), pp. 247–298.

13 Richard J. Goulden, *The ornament stock of Henry Woodfall 1719–1747. A preliminary inventory illustrated* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1988), p. 51.

John Stevens managed to publish one, entitled *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*, in London as early as 1706.<sup>14</sup> He also produced what is now considered to be the first history of Spain written by an Englishman: *A Brief History of Spain* (1701), printed in London by J. Nutt.<sup>15</sup> These works were followed by *A Dictionary of Spanish and English*, written by a traveller named Giuseppe Baretti and published in London by T. Nourse in 1778; along with two Spanish language primers: *Corta y compendiosa arte para aprender a hablar, leer y escribir en lengua española* (London, F. Woodward, 1726) and *Nuevo Diccionario español e inglés e inglés y español* (London, F. Gyles and P. Vaillant, 1740).<sup>16</sup>

London's Sephardic Jewish community played an important role in the task of disseminating Hispanic culture and literature in the city, and the Spanish printing house established by it published various titles, including a beautifully illustrated edition of David Nieto's *Matteh Dan* dated 5474 (i.e. 1714).<sup>17</sup>

These details reveal the wide variety of places where Spanish culture thrived, and help to explain the matching diversity of prevailing opinions regarding it. While Samuel Johnson, for example, showed a certain indifference to Spain, due – among other reasons – to his having read what he considered to be a not particularly rigorous history of Spain, Robertson's *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles v* (1769), *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) by his Scottish contemporary Adam Smith openly addressed the subject of Spain. Others meanwhile alluded to widespread interest in London for things Spanish, including an antiquarian bookseller named Richard Gough, who said in 1779, "The kingdom of Spain is at present a favourite objet of recherche with our people and I trust both nations will be benefited by it".<sup>18</sup>

This interest was apparent in such emblematic places as London's Literary Club, whose list of members included, along with Johnson himself, such illustrious figures as Edmund Burke, John Hawkins, Adam Smith and Joseph Banks. This group of intellectuals congregated at the Club's premises in St. James Street, to discuss various subjects, including Spain, which merits a mention in Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, with an entry for 7 April 1775: "I have been reading Twiss's *Travels in Spain* which are just come out. They are as good as the first book of travels that you will take up".<sup>19</sup> These allusions to Spain were subsequently completed in a journey around France that Johnson made the

14 Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana*, p. 28.

15 Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana*, p. 35 and 51.

16 Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana*, p. 48.

17 Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana*, p. 38.

18 David Howarth, *The invention of Spain. Cultural relations between Britain and Spain 1770–1870* (Manchester-New York, Manchester University Press, 2011), p. xii.

19 Boswell, *Vida de Samuel Johnson*, p. 806.

same year, with comments that included "Spain. County towns all beggars".<sup>20</sup> He continued by saying that he had, in the course of this journey, "read something in Canus", a clear reference to *De locis theologicis* by Dominican scholar Melchor Cano. He completed his literary comments on the Hispanic world with a harsh criticism of Spanish plays, which "being wildly and improbably farcical, would please children here [in London], as children are entertained with stories full of prodigies".<sup>21</sup>

We will see if Johnson's sincere words managed to infiltrate the collective imagination of the booksellers concerned. Diplomats, as well as intellectuals, helped create an image of Spain for the British. One of these was Lord Grantham, the British ambassador to Spain between 1771 and 1779, whose correspondence with Thomas Pelham, the second Earl of Chichester, mentions his readings of *Don Quixote*, in addition to his great interest in Spanish art, especially the works of Velázquez. It was therefore clear that appreciation of Spanish culture was not centred solely on literature, but also on other cultural manifestations such as art. Murillo was the most popular painter among Britain's collectors of the eighteenth century, closely followed by Zurbarán and El Greco. Certain English painters, like Thomas Rowlandson, meanwhile disseminated, via their own works, mythical literary characters of the Spanish Golden Age, such as Lazarillo de Tormes, who appears in a drawing entitled *Lazarillo and his Master* (of around 1800).

Another defender of Spanish culture was Henry Vassall Fox, the third Baron Holland. A friend and admirer of Jovellanos, he saw in the latter the hope of a new constitutional era for Spain. William Stanhope, Britain's ambassador to Spain, was likewise a defender of Spanish culture.

The diplomats were joined by certain military men, particularly British officers who had served in the War of the Spanish Succession; some of whom wrote down their impressions for us to see. These were sometimes fictional narratives of journeys in or adventures involving Spain. The best example of these is perhaps *Military Memoirs of Capt. George Carleton* by the novelist Daniel Defoe, printed in London in 1728 by E. Symon of Cornhill. Although the character of Carleton was real, his memoirs were not. He was an English officer who took part in the war from 1702 onwards, and remained in Spain until it ended. It is probable that Defoe had some direct or indirect knowledge, by the time he came to draft the novel, of Mariana's *Historia de España* or of *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* by Zurita.<sup>22</sup>

20 Boswell, *Vida de Samuel Johnson*, p. 848.

21 Boswell, *Vida de Samuel Johnson*, p. 1411.

22 Daniel Defoe, *Memorias de guerra del capitán George Carleton. Los españoles vistos por un oficial inglés durante la Guerra de Sucesión* (Alicante, Universidad, 2002), p. 22.

## 2.1 Spanish Books that Crossed the Channel

Literary references, translations, dictionaries and works in the original language were all useful items for any collector or bookseller with a desire to know a little more about the Spanish book market. But they were not enough, given that several of these sources lacked the contemporaneity that many sought in them. This could be compensated for by other means, including the periodical press. This enjoyed a boom in eighteenth-century London, and contained allusions to and reviews of new Spanish literary works.

Serving a growing population that was more and more literate, the periodicals concerned spread through the city like wildfire. They could be read in the traditional coffee houses, and were in any case affordable enough to be bought elsewhere. Indeed the periodicals and coffee houses of eighteenth-century London constituted a single continuum dedicated, just like their counterparts in Paris, to an ebullient social life.<sup>23</sup> These were places where it was also possible to find small libraries of new publications in particular. This subscription-based market gave rise to the circulating libraries which then became vital centres of the book trade.<sup>24</sup>

It is worth examining these circulating libraries in a little more detail, as we can find traces of Spanish literature in their holdings. These libraries began to be established in Britain from 1740 onwards. There were about twenty of them in 1760, but by the year 1800, the total had risen to almost two hundred. Two of these, specifically the catalogues of Thomas Lowndes (1766) and Michael Heavisides (1790), contained Spanish books. Lowndes was active in London between 1751 and 1780; while Heavisides operated between 1784 and 1821. A fifth of the titles on offer in both cases were translations of fictional and picaresque works from Spain.<sup>25</sup> Both bookshops sold, in addition to *Don Quixote*, the following Spanish works:

There were also, in addition to the circulating libraries, a certain number of public libraries where Londoners and readers from elsewhere could indulge in an enjoyment of Spanish literature. One example is Dr. Williams's Library, which opened its door to the public in 1730 and survives to this day. Its stock of Spanish books, consisting of around a hundred titles, was obtained largely

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23 James Raven, *Publishing business in Eighteenth-century England* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 123.

24 Markman Ellis, "Coffee-House Libraries in Mid-Eighteenth century London", *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 10, no. 1 (March 2009), p. 35.

25 Edward Jacobs, "Eighteenth-century British circulating libraries and cultural book history", *Book History*, volume 6 (2003), p. 16.



TABLE 5 *Spanish titles in the bookshops of Lowndes and Heavisides.<sup>a</sup>*

Author	Title	Edition	Bookseller
[Esteban González/ Alain-René Le Sage]	<i>Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane.</i> <i>A new translation from the best French edition.</i>	London: for John Osborn, 1749.	Thomas Lowndes/ Heavisides
[Esteban González/ Alain-René Le Sage]	<i>History and adventures of Don Alphonso Blas de Lirias, son of Gil Blas de Santillane. Translated from the Spanish original.</i>	London, York, and Scarborough: for C. Ward and R. Chandler; London: for J. Wood and C. Woodward, 1741.	Thomas Lowndes/ Heavisides
[Esteban González/ Alain-René Le Sage]	<i>History and adventures of Don Alphonso Blas de Lirias, son of Gil Blas de Santillane: being a supplement, or, fifth volume, of the celebrated work of Monsieur Le Sage. The second edition. Translated from the Spanish original.</i>	London: printed and sold at Lowndes's [sic] Circulating Library, 1756.	Thomas Lowndes
[Miguel de Cervantes]	<i>The History of the valorous and witty knight-errant, Don Quixote, of the Mancha. Translated out of the Spanish by T. Shelton, now newly corrected and amended.</i>	London: by R. Hodgkinsonne, for a. Cooke, 1652.	Thomas Lowndes
[Miguel de Cervantes]	<i>The history of the most renowned Don Quixote of Mancha, and his trusty squire Sancho Pancha, now made English according to the humour of our modern language.</i>	London: printed by T. Hodgkin, and sold by J. Newton, 1687.	Thomas Lowndes
[Miguel de Cervantes]	<i>The History of the valorous and witty knight-errant, Don Quixote of the Mancha. Translated into English by Thomas Shelton and now printed verbatim from the fourth edition of 1620.</i>	London: for D. Midwinter, 1740.	Thomas Lowndes
[Miguel de Cervantes]	<i>The life and exploits of the ingenious gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha. Translated from the original Spanish of Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra. By Charles Jarvis, esq.</i> <i>The life and adventures of Lazarillo de Tormes. Written by himself. Translated from the original Spanish.</i> <i>The Life and adventures of Lazarillo de Tormes.</i>	London: J. and R. Tonson, 1742.  London: R. Bonwick, 1708.  London: for J. Bell, 1789.	Thomas Lowndes  Thomas Lowndes  Heavisides

TABLE 5     *Spanish titles in the bookshops of Lowndes and Heavisides.*<sup>a</sup> (cont.)

Author	Title	Edition	Bookseller
[Miguel de Cervantes]	<i>The History and Adventures of the renowned Don Quixote. Translated from the Spanish of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra ... by Tobias Smollett, M.D.</i>	London: for T. Osborne, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, A. Millar, H. Woodfall, John Rivington [and seven others], 1761.	Heavisides
[Castillo Solórzano and Pérez de Montalván]	<i>Novellas espanolas. Or, Moral and entertaining novels: translated from the original Spanish. By a lady never before published in England or France.</i> <i>i. Don Carlos de Godoy; or, the Fortunate Stranger.</i> <i>ii. Donna Hippolita de Centellas; or, the unexpected resolution.</i> <i>iii. the twins; or, the Disguised page</i> <i>iv. Reciprocal love; or the History of the Count de Lemmos, and Victoria de Velasco.</i> <i>v. Mistaken jealousy; or happy perseverance.</i> <i>vi. Henriquez and Elvira; or, the Force of Love.</i>	London: by John Chaney; and sold by W. Reeve, J. Fox, and H. Cooke, 1747.	Heavisides

a Edward Jacobs, *Fiction Titles Common to the Circulating-Library Catalogs of Thomas Lowndes (1766) and Michael Heavisides (1790)*. Available at: [https://al.odu.edu/english/faculty/ejacobs/fiction\\_titles.pdf](https://al.odu.edu/english/faculty/ejacobs/fiction_titles.pdf).

from the collection of Dr. William Bates, whose library was sold in 1727. It was then bought by Daniel Williams.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to its presence in public libraries, Spanish literature also left its trail in some of London's most emblematic establishments of the modern era: the coffee houses that popularised the periodical press and which acquired a level of fame hitherto unknown. It was possible in these places to read periodicals of virtually any type, on virtually any subject and of varying frequency, containing sections dedicated to new books as a regular feature. These included quarterly publications and also dailies like the *London Evening Post* (founded in 1727) and *General Evening Post* (1733), along with the monthly *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731), which was perhaps one of the city's most

26 Barry Taylor, "Los libros españoles del Dr. William Bates (1625–1699) en la Dr. Williams's Library de Londres", in Nicolás Bas Martín and Barry Taylor (eds.), *El libro español en Londres. La visión de España en Inglaterra (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Valencia, Universitat de València, 2016), pp. 13–61.

outstanding publications. Anyone looking for specialist information in the manner that concerns us here could refer to periodical works of criticism like *The Monthly Catalogue* (1714–1732), *The London Review of English and Foreign Literature* (1775–80), *The London Catalogue* (1773) or *A General Catalogue of Books* (1785–1786). The latter publication includes references to Spanish books. The issue for 1786, for example, quotes *La historia del famoso cavallero Don Quixote, con anotaciones por Bowle*.<sup>27</sup>

The public at which publications were aimed consisted largely of booksellers who needed information on the latest literary developments, along with gentlemen of a certain standing who wished to acquire books for their collections.<sup>28</sup> They all contained, albeit not with any great frequency, some reference or other to Spanish literature. One specific case is the November 1746 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which contained two critical reviews of Spanish literature. The first of these referred to the English translation, by Thomas Shelton, of Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*, in a duodecimo format pocket edition printed in London by J. Nourse, possibly in 1742; while the second review was concerned with a compendium entitled "Novellas espannolas; or, moral and entertaining novels", selected, as the review relates, from a list of the most outstanding Spanish authors, printed in London by J. Chaney in 1747 and available from the booksellers W. Reeve, J. Fox and H. Cooke.<sup>29</sup>

One direct competitor of this periodical was the *London Magazine* (1732–66), whose section entitled "Monthly Catalogue" was on occasions likely to contain a Spanish title. Indeed its issue of December 1746 contains, coinciding almost exactly with the issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* referred to above, the same reference to "Entertaining novels".<sup>30</sup> This is evidence of how the same news tended to appear in various different publications at the same time, thereby increasing the likelihood of acquisition on the part of collectors and booksellers.

27 *A general Catalogue of books in all languages, arts, and sciences, printed in Great Britain, and published in London, from the year MDCC to MDCCLXXXVI* (London, Printed for W. Bent, 1786), p. 154.

28 Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The distribution of books by Catalogue. From the invention of printing to A.D. 1800. Based on material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge, The Roxburghe Club, 1965), p. 134.

29 *The Gentleman's Magazine 1731–51. The list of books, collected with annual indexes and the index to the first twenty years compiled by Edward Kimber (1752)* (London, Gregg Press in association with the Archive Press, 1966 [i.e. 1967]), p. 616.

30 *The monthly catalogues from The London Magazine, 1732–66: With the index for 1732–58 compiled by Edward Kimber* (London, Gregg Press Archive, (1966)), p. 650.

Any of them desiring a more extensive knowledge of the latest Spanish publications would necessarily have to refer to the critical articles on books that were published in the London press. The titles on offer included *The European Magazine*, the June 1790 issue of which included an ample account of one of the most famous travel books about eighteenth-century Spain: Baron de Bourgoing's *Travels in Spain*, in its London edition of 1789.<sup>31</sup> This consideration of literary criticism would not be complete without a mention of the *The Monthly Review*, a magazine containing, as its title suggests, extensive book reviews; including works from Spain. Its "Foreign books" section contains references to Spanish literature. One of these includes a mention of the then-recent (in 1754) appearance in Madrid of the book *Apparato para la Historia Natural española* (1754) by Father Joseph Torrubia, and goes on to give an extensive description that appears to have been intended for a highly specialised public of bibliophiles and booksellers. Evidence of this is contained in the frequent descriptions of a book's physical appearance as a way of attracting customers, such as "the work is magnificently printed, and adorned with several elegant plates, or figured stones, and other fossils".<sup>32</sup> Another review, which appeared in the same publication a few years later, extensively praises a work on the *Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, origen, progressos*, referring to its promise of magnificent literary contributions in the future.<sup>33</sup> This is clearly not the case with a 1767 review of *Histoire des rois catholiques* (Paris, 1766) by Vincent Mignot, in which the *Monthly Review's* editor vents his anger at the devastation caused by the Spanish Inquisition during the joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The review goes so far as to conclude with a brief note quoting the historian Mariana: "in the first years, 20,000 (individuals) returned into the pale of the church, and 2,000 were burnt alive for their heresy", to which the editor adds a resounding "What diabolism".<sup>34</sup>

The more popular titles of the literary press are accompanied by others that are less well known, but no less important for that. These include publications like *The history of the works of the learned, or, an impartial account of books lately printed in all parts of Europe*, which contained literary reviews of such Spanish books as the English translation of Juan de Mariana's *Historia de*

31 *The European Magazine* (London, Printed for J. Sewell and J. Debrett, June 1790), p. 425.

32 *The Monthly review, or, Literary Journal. By several hands. Volume xvi* (London, Printed for R. Griffiths, 1757), p. 151.

33 *The Monthly review, or, Literary Journal. By several hands. Volume xx* (London, Printed for R. Griffiths, 1759), p. 49.

34 *The Monthly review, or, Literary Journal. By several hands. Volume xxxvi* (London, Printed for R. Griffiths, 1767), p. 553.

*España*, printed in London in 1699.<sup>35</sup> The latter periodical appeared monthly, and must therefore have been a frequent source of reference for London-based booksellers and collectors wishing to know about what was being published on the continent. Other contributors to this enterprise included French Huguenot refugees in London like Michael de la Roche, who edited various periodicals and made reference, in his eight-volume *Memoirs of literature*, to various Spanish authors and works of literature. Indeed the preface to the first volume announces the inclusion of supplements entitled *Account of the life and trial of Michael Servetus* and *Account of the life and trial of Nicolas Anthoine*.<sup>36</sup> Volume III meanwhile includes the following reference: "Father de Aranaz [Jacinto Aranaz], a Carmelite, has published a book at Pampeluna [Pamplona], in favour of Philip v", published in 1711.<sup>37</sup>

News regarding Spanish publications would occasionally appear in periodicals that were more satirical than conventional. Some of them originated in Grub Street, the legendary home of seditious literature. This was the place where hack writers and authors of ill repute sold to the highest bidder, albeit with the aim of holding British society and politics up to ridicule. There was in fact an attempt to improve the bad reputation of the area in the shape of the *Grub-Street Journal*, founded in 1730. Its contributors included Pope and Swift, among others, and references to Spanish publications could also be found within its pages. The issue dated Thursday 23 November 1732 in particular included a list of books from the respective libraries of Thomas Wright, an English astronomer and architect, and the Reverend Henry Burton, which were going to be sold "very cheap" in the London bookshops of Thomas Osborne of Gray's Inn.<sup>38</sup> The collections on sale included four Spanish books: *Hispania illustrata* in five volumes; Mariana's *Historia di Hispana* in two volumes; *Historia universal del Mundo* by the Franciscan friar Juan de Pineda, in six volumes; and – inevitably – a six-volume edition of *Don Quixote*, which was almost certainly the French edition of 1713, published by the Chambre Syndicale of Paris.

The press was thus one of the most important means that authors, publishers, printers, booksellers and collectors had at their disposal for understanding the reality of Spanish literature. The reading preferences of each group

35 *The History of the works of the learned. Or, an impartial account of books lately printed in all parts of Europe. With a particular relation of the state of learning in each country* (London, printed for H. Rhodes, 1701), p. 564.

36 *Memoirs of literature. Containing a large account of many valuable books, letters and dissertations upon several subjects, miscellaneous observations, &c.* v. 1 (London, sold by R. Knaplock; and P. Vaillant, in the Strand, 1722).

37 *Memoirs of literature*, vol. III, pp. 217–218.

38 *The Grub-Street Journal*, No. 152. Thursday, 23 November 1732, p. 4.

were obviously different, as were their respective needs. They nevertheless all shared the same desire to have as much information as possible in their strenuous efforts to meet precisely the demands of readers and buyers of Spanish publications.

One genre that gave the reader a first-hand experience in this respect was Spanish travel literature. A combination of fictional narratives and real accounts, their authors included both Spanish travellers in England and English travellers in Spain. Travellers became, in their quest for the dissemination of their own ideas, cultural mediators in one way or another. This was something difficult to achieve in the case of Spain, as the British view of the country continued to be that of a nation in decline.<sup>39</sup> This was aided and abetted by the accounts of English travellers, whose perception of Spain was one of a scarcely civilised, even barbarous, place existing outside the confines of the Europe of the Enlightenment. The travellers concerned felt rather that they were in India, Africa or South America.<sup>40</sup>

There were exceptions that proved the rule, and one of these was the previously mentioned British ambassador to Spain, Lord Thomas Grantham. He enjoyed the friendship of the Valencian traveller Antonio Ponz, who was admitted as a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London as a result.<sup>41</sup> The British diplomat's admiration for Spanish culture, and of *Don Quixote* in particular, is reflected in his correspondence with his brother, Frederick. In one missive to the latter, in which he spoke of Cervantes' great work, he wrote "I am convinced that in order to understand or at least to appreciate this book, one has to have seen the country".<sup>42</sup> Ponz was able, during his travels in England, to strengthen his relationship with the Granthams and also with other British intellectuals, to whom he was introduced by Thomas and Frederick. One of these was Thomas Pelham, a cousin of the Granthams. Ponz sent him the six volumes of his *Viaje de España* that had appeared to date, specially bound by the author in person.<sup>43</sup> Frederick Grantham also introduced Ponz to Robert Darley Waddilove, the embassy chaplain, who sent various Spanish books to England. These included volumes seven and eight of *Viaje de España*, with a note to Frederick, indicating that they were for a Mr Crispin. The chaplain had already shown an interest in Spanish culture by visiting the library of the monastery of El Escorial and copying

39 Mónica Bolufer, "Between two shores: travellers as cultural mediators. The Journey to Spain in the Eighteenth century", *Acta Histriae*, 17 (2009), 1–2, p. 86.

40 Ana Hontavilla, "Images of Barbaric Spain in Eighteenth-century British travel writing", *Studies in Eighteenth-century culture*, 37 (2008), p. 121.

41 Mónica Bolufer, Estudio preliminar, edición y notas al *Viaje fuera de España* de Antonio Ponz (Alicante, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2007), p. 85.

42 Bolufer, Estudio, p. 86.

43 Bolufer, Estudio, p. 87.

a manuscript of Strabo for editing by Thomas Falconer. He also obtained, thanks to his contacts with the Valencian author Gregorio Mayans and others, valuable information for Robertson's *History of America*.<sup>44</sup>

It is worthwhile, when attempting to understand the role of diplomacy in the dissemination of Spanish literature in Britain, to examine the unpublished correspondence of the aforementioned Thomas Grantham better known as Thomas Robinson, second Baron Grantham, he occupied the British Embassy in Spain between 1771 and 1779. His first letter was sent from Aranjuez to King George III's chaplain, Beilby Porteus (1731–1808), who is assumed to have been Grantham's tutor at Cambridge. The letter expressed his desire to assist the historian William Robertson in the completion of "his work", a clear allusion to *History of America*, which was published that same year. He also declared his intention to answer "your queries about the state of literature in this country".<sup>45</sup> The letter continues with an apology for not having included an evaluation of the proposed translation of *Fray Gerundio* by an Italian traveller named Baretti; a work that he considered to be excessively long. He also includes a description of a popular Spanish dance, the Faldanzo, citing an interesting description in the elegant letters written in Latin by the deacon of Alicante, in a clear allusion to Manuel Martí and his *Epistolarum Libri duodecim* (Madrid, 1735).

On other occasions, the British Ambassador received letters from important intellectuals of his homeland who were keen to promote their works in Spain, thereby helping him to establish relationships with the main figures concerned. These included Benjamin Kennicott, a Hebrew scholar and keeper of the Radcliffe Library in Oxford, who contacted the diplomat Grantham to tell him, some years before publication, of what was to be his great work, *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (1776–1780), with a view to signing up subscribers in Madrid and Salamanca and publishing a notice in his "Literary Gazettes or Newspapers". He had already written with the same intention to fellow Hebrew scholar Pérez Bayer, along with a copy sent to Miguel Casiri, the Royal Librarian.<sup>46</sup>

The embassy chaplain, Robert Darley Waddilove, sometimes intervened in this respect by sending various Spanish books to the ambassador (who was by now in El Escorial) via Antonio de Sancha, printer and bookseller of Madrid. These included *La Mosquée: poétique inventiva* (1615), a reprint issued in Madrid in 1732, and – as an accompanying note read – "handsomely bound".<sup>47</sup> Waddilove sent twelve copies of this work, via the aforementioned Sancha, to

44 Bolufer, Estudio, p. 90.

45 BLARS (Bedfordshire & Luton Archives and Records Service), L 30/14/315/24. Grantham, Aranjuez, Spain to Porteus. 22 June 1772.

46 BLARS. L 30/14/208/1. Kennicott, Oxford to Grantham, Madrid. 27 February 1773.

47 BLARS. L 30/14/408/77. Waddilove, Madrid to Grantham. 24 August 1777.

the London bookseller Benjamin White. We also know from this correspondence that the chaplain arranged for the despatch to Lord Stormont of a work by Campomanes, for a cost of 58 Spanish *reals*.<sup>48</sup> David Murray (1727–1796), better known as the Viscount of Stormont, was a British politician who occupied the post of ambassador in both Vienna and France. His family was marked by having some of the noblest lineage of the British aristocracy.

Waddilove maintained good relations with several of London's most important booksellers, including the aforementioned White, and also Thomas Payne, among others, whom he put in touch with Sancha for the purpose of trading in books. The Madrid bookseller stocked various items in English, just as his London counterparts sold several Spanish books, including *Colección de trajes de España, tanto antiguos como modernos*, by Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, printed in Madrid in 1777, which the chaplain advised White to put on sale in London.<sup>49</sup> His advice was not misdirected; it was a magnificent work, with more than seventy plates on wove paper showing Spanish costumes. The book achieved enormous fame both within and outside Spain, and must surely have delighted the British bibliophiles who saw it.

The British Embassy in Madrid acted as a clearing house for correspondence from Britons with an interest in Spanish matters. One of these was the British traveller Henry Swinburne, in Rome at the time, who wrote to Thomas Grantham to inform him of the progress of what would later be his *Travels in Spain* (1779). This included his unwillingness to correct any information regarding Spain in his manuscript, which had by now been sent to the London booksellers, with a copy to the bookshop of Benjamin White on Fleet Street. Swinburne told the ambassador, in the same letter, of a remarkable Valencian Jesuit named Antonio Eiximeno, a great musician and even better mathematician, who was now petitioning for a royal pension.<sup>50</sup>

News and views on various Anglo-Spanish affairs were exchanged via the embassy's correspondence, although what interests us here are those that concern the trade in Spanish books between the two countries. In one of these letters, sent by Waddilove to the ambassador's brother Frederick, we find details of some of the book buyers and other London-based enthusiasts of Spanish literature, complete with information on the items that they received. We also know that some of the "packets" (cargo vessels) involved did not arrive safely. Others, on the other hand, required the support of different printers, like Draper, S. Hooper, and Daniel Browne of London; or official authorisations from the commissioners to ensure that the Spanish books concerned

48 BLARS. L 30/14/408/85. Waddilove, Madrid to Grantham. 13 September 1777.

49 BLARS. L 30/15/66/11. Waddilove, Aranjuez to F. Robinson. 4 June 1778.

50 BLARS. L 30/14/370/13. Swinburne, Rome to Grantham. 27 August 1778.



reached Frederick's house in London, to which the books were apparently sent in packing cases. We therefore know that "they [the commissioners] gave Dr Robertson [William Robertson] free entry for all his Spanish books".<sup>51</sup>

William Robertson, a historian and Principal of the University of Edinburgh, was not the only party to benefit from this correspondence that used Britain's embassy in Spain as its nerve centre; figures like Henry Pelham, an American engraver then living in London, likewise received consignments of books. The list naturally also includes Frederick, his brother the ambassador and Waddilove himself, along with a certain Dr Watson and Daniel Browne, a London bookseller, among others. All this is confirmed by the correspondence of the embassy chaplain, who catalogued the numbers and contents of the boxes of books. We know, for example, that Mr Draper, a pamphlet bookseller, refers to a "Mr Walter", whom we have not been able to identify, and Henry Pelham, to whom he sent two boxes; along with three for Shadwell's (numbered 11, 12, and 13); and one each to Robertson and Dr. Watson (numbered 4 and 5). He also describes in great detail the contents of box number 14, which held not only books, but also paintings, marble objects and antiques.

TABLE 6      *Contents accounted for by Spanish books in box no. 14, sent by Waddilove to Frederick Robinson.*

Author	Title	Addressee
Antonio Ponz	<i>Viage de España</i> . Volumen 7 y 8. (1778) 2 cajas de libros: 15 ejemplares <i>Trages españoles</i> <i>Cronicas</i>	Mr. Crispin <sup>a</sup> Henry Pelham
Antonio Ponz	<i>Viage de España</i> . Volumen 7 y 8. (1778) <i>Trages de Suecia</i>	
Juan de la Cruz	13. ejemplares <i>Trages españoles</i> <i>Cronicas</i>	Frederick Robinson
Juan de Solórzano Pereira	<i>De Indiarum Iure</i> (1629)	
Tomás López	<i>Atlas geográfico del Reino de España</i> (1757) <i>Cronicas</i>	Thomas Grantham
Lope de Vega Solórzano Pereira	4. v. de Lope de Vega <i>De Indiarum Iure</i> (1629) 3 ejemplares <i>Mosquea</i> "larger paper"	

51      BLARS. L 30/15/66/16. Waddilove, San Ildefonso to F. Robinson. 24 September 1778.

TABLE 6      *Contents accounted for by Spanish books in box no. 14, sent by Waddilove to Frederick Robinson (cont.).*

Author	Title	Addressee
	<i>Cronicas</i>	Dr. Watson
Solórzano	11 v. of <i>Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias</i>	
Pereira	(1680)	
Padre Isla	2 v. <i>Historia de España</i> (1749) <sup>b</sup>	
José Berní y	Ms. <i>Viage Philipe</i> 2 <sup>c</sup>	
Catalá	<i>Title</i> <sup>d</sup>	
	2 v. <i>Las eróticas</i>	??
	<i>Parnaso español</i> <sup>e</sup>	W. Robertson
Solórzano	2 v. f. a los rústico	
Pereira	<i>Discurso político</i>	
	<i>Relación riada de Jest. Ports</i>	
Ponz	<i>Viage</i>	
	<i>Cédula instrucción de Frutos</i>	Daniel Browne
Lope de Vega	?	Waddilove
Antonio Pérez	<i>Relaciones</i>	
	<i>Parnaso español</i>	
	<i>Trages de Suecia</i>	
Tomás López	<i>Atlas geográfico del Reino de España</i>	
	(1757)	

a Unidentified.

b This is the 1749 Father Isla translation of *Compendio de la Historia de España* by the French Jesuit Duchesne.

c This possibly refers to the manuscript currently held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, titulado *Relación del viaje hecho por Felipe 11, en 1585, a Zaragoza, Barcelona y Valencia, escrita por Henrique Cock, notario apostólico y archero de la guardia del Cuerpo Real, y publicada de real orden.*

d *Creacion, Antigüedad, y Privilegios, de los titulos de Castilla, que escribe el D.D. Joseph Berni, y Català, Abogado de los Rs. Consejos* (Valencia, 1769).

e The *Parnaso Español: colección de poesías escogidas de los más célebres poetas castellanos*, better known as *Parnaso Español*, is an anthology edited by Juan José López de Sedano. It was published in nine volumes, between 1768 y 1778, by Joaquín Ibarra and printed by Antonio de Sancha.

Waddilove added to this list of works with well-defined addressees, as indicated in a letter, the omission of customers for another longer list of Spanish Books, including “three Sallusts”,<sup>52</sup> literary news, Pellicer, *Voyage d’Espagne*, Boturini and speeches from comedies.<sup>53</sup> He regretted not knowing more about Spanish literature; a lack that he expected to rectify with Sancha’s magnificent catalogues, which he was now sending to Frederick.

We ought to know more, and have more of the Spanish good or useful books than any body else by the other [sic] you will have one of Sancha’s Catalogues, you will know what you have and see what you ought to have.<sup>54</sup>

He makes constant references to the despatching of Spanish books from the embassy to London. These included various copies of the works of Sallust, in a clear allusion to Ibarra’s *Conjuración de Catilina*, on which Ambassador Grantham commented “Ybarra’s the Printer’s a lively and active man”. He spoke of three copies in particular, one of which was for the Bishop of Chester [Beilby Porteus], another for a certain “Storer” and a third that was not yet available. All of them, noted the British diplomat in one of his letters, had entailed payment of 23 *louis* in commissions the booksellers of Madrid.<sup>55</sup>

Another important figure destined to receive these books was Thomas Wilbraham, fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, who wrote to Waddilove regarding the progress of his orders, to which he replied, in a letter addressed to Frederick, that one of the boxes, specifically box no. 1, contained books intended only for him. These books had been sent via Bilbao, and the chaplain now asked Frederick to arrange for them to be sent to him personally.<sup>56</sup> The correspondence likewise shows that Waddilove sent greetings to the Bishop of Oxford, indicating that “he wanted some Spanish books, to compleat his Feyjo [Feijoo]”, in a clear allusion to the works of the Spanish Benedictine Monk. The chaplain replied to tell him that his request could be fulfilled by the bookshop of Benjamin White in London, which was sure to possess the copies that he needed. The British churchman concluded his letter by asking Frederick if volumes seven and eight of Ponz’s *Viaje* sent to “Mr Wilkie”, and the copy of *Las Casas* sent to “Mr Kerr”, were “in Whitehall”, in reference to one of the main concentrations of bookshops in the London of the day.

52 Maybe the *Conjuración de Catilina* (1772) of Salustio, of Ibarra’s press.

53 This is possibly the *Discurso crítico sobre el origen, calidad y estado presente de las Comedias de España* (Madrid, 1750).

54 BLARS. L 30/15/66/22. Waddilove, Escorial to F. Robinson. 20 November 1778.

55 BLARS. L 30/15/54/123. Grantham, Madrid to Fritz, Whitehall. 1779.

56 BLARS. L 30/15/66/31. Waddilove, Aranjuez to F. Robinson. 26 April 1779.

We know, thanks to the diplomat's abundant correspondence, that Mayans sent several Spanish books to the Bishop of London, Robert Lowth, specifically three books in box no. 4, despatched via Paris, including his *Praelections*, and *Isaiah*. A copy of the work was also sent to the Spanish Infante Gabriel and his tutor, Pérez Bayer.<sup>57</sup>

It is clear that correspondence involving the British diplomatic mission was essential to disseminating a knowledge of Spanish literature in London; a task which it shared with other parties, including travellers. Indeed much of the news regarding Spanish culture that reached London did so thanks to accounts of travels. These narratives were printed and sold at a reduced price

4<sup>to</sup> — Viage Philipe 2<sup>do</sup> small f. — Bemí Titulo  
 1<sup>o</sup> — Additions to D<sup>o</sup> a small f. —  
 To be separated for B<sup>o</sup> Robinson (Bourne's Case)  
 Parnaso Español — Solozano 2 v. f. a. l. o. rustico —  
 Difunso politico — Spanish Horace — Relation  
 de Just<sup>o</sup> Port<sup>o</sup> 2. R. — Gobierno de Cumana Ind f. — 7 & 8  
 V<sup>o</sup> Ponce Viage — Ind f. Diario &  
 For Mr Pelham 7 & 8 v. Ponce's Viage.  
 For Mr Bourne 6 small parcels of seeds, or  
 a Cedula Instruccion de Fomtos.  
 — every thing else notwithstanding an  
 mark or name to the contrary, to sta  
 in order, in the Case for Waddilove  
 vint. 12 v. Lofe — Relaciones Ant. Ponce 4<sup>to</sup> —  
 Three J. V. Parnaso. — 2 Sala's de vel Heb. Pand. — Joages de  
 Suecia mine to be put with my set of Valarguez my 2. odd ones & Lopez  
 Atlas Titulo (I thought I had sent Joages de Suecia for you & Mr Pelham  
 but I seem to have omitted them in my list) Three Ballustrs.  
 Cid Comedy — Short: Holland Proverb. — Pacheco Pintura.  
 3 pieces of Marble — 14 more squares Marble — 14 pieces  
 Mosquea — Noticias Cobodonga. — 5 more pieces of Marble  
 — small Box of Yesso, 2 or 3 pieces Mineral, a Madrid Diamond,  
 & a piece of Roman Pavement — Voyage d'Espagne  
 Botivins — Difunso de Comedias. — 2 Dollon Act.  
 Books — Portugal Guia de Caminos — Nuevo Atlante de  
 Espana. — & so no Room I think was lost. neither  
 I am tired of writing or not, you will be tired of reading  
 & so God bless you — Ever most faithfully Yours  
 Horatio J. Robinson. — R. D. Waddilove

FIGURE 8 Letter from Waddilove to Frederick, listing a number of Spanish books. BLARS. L30/15/66/16. Letter from Waddilove to Frederick. San Ildefonso, 24 September 1778.

57 BLARS. L 30/15/66/32. Waddilove, Aranjuez to F. Robinson. 13 May 1779.

by booksellers and printers, who saw in Spanish books a market worth considering. Not all Britons who travelled to the Iberian Peninsula in the eighteenth century mention its literature however, as some of them were there on business or for reasons of diplomacy. But those who did do so elaborated on the subject in some detail, in contrast to their French counterparts.

News of what Dr Johnson called an “infection”, in reference to the British passion for travelling and collecting,<sup>58</sup> must have reached the ears of London’s booksellers, who duly published and sold a large number of travel books, including ones that dealt with Spain. This was despite the acidic comments of the publisher of just such a collection of travel experiences, John Fielding, who wrote in 1783, “Nothing but necessity can induce a man to travel to Spain”.<sup>59</sup> Whether for necessity or interest, the eighteenth century is certainly marked by a series of British travellers who went to Spain, despite the fact that it did not form part of the traditional “grand tour”. As it is a subject that has already been well covered,<sup>60</sup> we will concentrate on those who refer to Spanish literature, in an attempt to see to what extent they were able (or not) to influence the decisions of London’s booksellers.

Although it was not a “trip” in that sense of the word, John Stevens, an Irish Catholic, travelled to Spain with the rest of his family when he was a boy. A resident of London from the beginning of the century, he showed himself to be a great connoisseur of Spanish culture, and translated many literary works, particularly those of Quevedo and Cervantes. This enthusiasm explains his publication in London in 1706 of *A new Spanish and English Dictionary*, printed by George Sawbridge in Little Britain, then home to the capital city’s biggest concentration of bookshops. It was published along with other works on the Spanish language.<sup>61</sup> This was something not likely to go unnoticed by his colleagues in the trade.

Evidence of this interest in Spanish culture can be found in Captain Stevens’ critical observations on various Spanish books from around the year 1710; a few years after the publication of his own dictionary. The handwritten comments

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58 Consol Freixa, *Los ingleses y el arte de viajar. Una visión de las ciudades españolas en el siglo XVIII* (Barcelona, Ediciones del Serbal, 1993), p. 9.

59 Freixa, *Los ingleses*, p. 24.

60 I will mention, as part of the abundant bibliography, the now-classic studies of Ian Robertson, *Los viajeros impertinentes* (Barcelona, Ediciones del Serbal, 1988); Clara Guerrero, *Viajeros británicos en la España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, Aguilar, 1990).

61 Among them: *A Dictionary English and Spanish* (London, 1705); *A new Spanish grammar, with some remarks upon syntax* (London, 1706); *Dialogues in Spanish and English* (London, 1706).

that survive reveal the considerable knowledge of Spanish literature. They include various pithy notes on the main works of Antonio de Herrera, Quevedo and Calderón, along with *La Celestina*, *La pícara Justina* and various comedies.<sup>62</sup>

The publication of his Spanish-English dictionary was not a bad start to the new century in terms of knowledge of Spanish literature in London, with particular reference to the city's booksellers. Book publishing in the eighteenth century was furthermore a risky business, and a minimum number of readers was required before the venture could begin. This helps to explain the existence at the turn of the century of a reading public in London with an interest in Spanish affairs. This logically progressed from a knowledge of the language, using dictionaries such as those of Stevens, to the sale of translations; before moving on to original editions. This slow task of linguistic immersion seems have permeated British society of the eighteenth century, as confirmed by travellers such as Richard Twiss, writing in 1774, "The works of Cervantes, Quevedo, and Feijoo, are too well known in England to need any commemoration here".<sup>63</sup>

An interest in Spanish literature did not necessarily coincide with a knowledge of the language, so most of the Spanish literary works concerned tended to become known in the form of translations. Only certain collectors, such as William Herbert, whose experience of international trade allowed him to travel and acquire a knowledge of various languages, including Spanish, acquired works like Stevens' *Spanish Grammar* of 1739, along with other Spanish dictionaries such as those found in the 1795 catalogue of the bookseller Isaac Herbert, who sold various works to the British collector.<sup>64</sup>

Several of these grammar works and dictionaries were published in London by printers like William Bowyer. The list included *Spanish Grammar* (1711) by Pascual Joseph Antón, a teacher of the language and resident of the capital city. One year later, on 4 May 1712, the publication of this edition is once again mentioned in the accounts of Bowyer's printing shop, at a cost of £750.<sup>65</sup>

62 BL (British Library), Ms. Sloane 3093. *Part of a Catalogue of Spanish books, principally historical, with critical observations, by John Stevens*, c. 1710.

63 Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain, in 1772 and 1773* (London, printed for the author, 1775), p. 398.

64 Robin Myers, "William Herbert: his library and his Friends" in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, *Property of a gentleman* (Winchester, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1991), p. 143.

65 *The Bowyer Ledgers. The printing accounts of William Bowyer, father and son, reproduced on microfiche. With a checklist of Bowyer printing, 1699–1777, a commentary, indexes, and appendixes*. Edited by Keith Maslen and John Lancaster (London and New York, The Bibliographical Society and The Bibliographical Society of America, 1991).

16	9	King's Public History of the Greco	3000	English
16	9	Fichius in a volumi in Answer to the Rights	750	Parliere
16	9	Ovidii Metamorphos. Natu Minelli	1025	W. B. T. T. T.
16	9	Spanish Grammar	4000	Engl. B. B. C.
16	9	Libri Vagorum a deaf reprinted		
16	9	Hopi Fabrice		

FIGURE 9 Account book of William Bowyer, showing the printing of "Spanish Grammar" The Bowyer Ledgers. The printing accounts of William Bowyer, father and son. A Commentary, Indexes, and Appendixes by Keith Maslen; John Lancaster (The Bibliographical Society, 1991).

The diffusion of Spanish literature was helped by travellers such as Edward Clarke, a professor at St John's College, Cambridge, whose *Letters concerning the Spanish nation* (1763) give us one of the closest approximations to the state of knowledge of Spanish literature at the time. Written in Madrid between 1760 and 1761, this epistolary work summarises the "State of Literature, letters, and men of learning in Spain". One of its letters (no. IV) gives a brief overview of the most representative Spanish literature from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century; focusing on such figures as Juan de Mariana, Cervantes and Feijoo, to whom the author dedicates special mention of his work in the field of physics.<sup>66</sup> Clarke includes, in the same letter, a "Catalogue of Spanish authors", divided into "ancient" and "modern". He includes the main historians, including Mariana, in the first group, with a consideration of the seventeenth-century editions of his famous *Historia de España*. The list of "modern" authors would not be complete without Fathers Feijoo and Isla (to whom Clarke referred as "Spain's Swift"); or Father Flórez, the author of *España sagrada*; or Gregorio Mayans, among others. The letter concludes with a selection of poets from the Spanish Golden Age, and a list "of modern Spanish literati", emphasising the particular relevance of Mayans. This is not surprising, as his biography of Cervantes, thought to be the first one to be written, had been published in London in 1738.

The reception of *Letters* in Britain has been studied mainly on the basis of the literary magazine *Critical Review*, which harshly criticised the text; considering it to be hardly original.<sup>67</sup> This magazine does include certain articles, albeit rarely, on Spanish writings, with particular reference to those filtered through the literature of travel.<sup>68</sup> This is likewise logical, considering the success that this genre enjoyed among the readers of the age. We can thus deduce

66 Edward Clarke, *Letters concerning the Spanish nation* (London, T. Becket and P.A. de Hondt, 1763), pp. 56–64.

67 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", p. 313.

68 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", pp. 306–309.

that the image of Spanish culture, and therefore literature, held by the British magazine was not a particularly benevolent one, as this was ultimately reflected in the behaviour of the booksellers who had read the articles concerned.

British travellers to Spain did not just make reference to Spanish literature; they also bought Spanish books, and used some of them to document their journeys. Richard Twiss is perhaps the traveller who provides us with most details in this respect, complete with curious anecdotes about how he acquired some of the Spanish books concerned. He tells of a visit to a bookshop in Valencia, for example, where he examined a small-format work that included a brief description of the city. He tells of buying, in the same place, the only three pamphlets, *Rondalla de Rondalles* of 1769 among them, written in what he calls "Patois limosin", in a clear allusion to the Valencian language.<sup>69</sup> He later mentions the purchase of some Spanish books in Madrid, while noting how difficult it was to find works on such specific subjects as chivalric literature, of which he managed to find a few examples.<sup>70</sup> He mentions not only the Spanish works that he bought or read, but also some that he already possessed: "I have a quarto Spanish book, entitled, *An historical Relation of the Auto de fe*, wich was celebrated in Madrid, 1680".<sup>71</sup>

Twiss's knowledge of Spanish literature was not limited to books published in Spain; it also included some of the great number of Spanish books produced beyond the home country's borders, including the famous *Cartas de Nicolás Antonio y Antonio de Solís*, which were printed in Lyon by the Deville brothers under the supervision of Mayans.<sup>72</sup> This interest is palpable in his "Catalogue of books which describe Spain and Portugal", which includes his *Travels* and a carefully chosen selection of books in the original language, as well as French and English translations. The original works that he refers to include mainly books by eighteenth-century authors, with the notable absence of Feijoo, Mayans, Ponz and certain others. The literary references that he makes to authors and works from Valencia are nevertheless striking. These include Martín de Viciano and Manuel Martí, deacon of Alicante, with a description of the 1738 Amsterdam edition of his work on the Roman theatre of Saguntum (Sagunto).<sup>73</sup>

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69 Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain, in 1772 and 177* (London, printed for the author; and sold by G. Robinson, T. Becket and J. Robson, 1775), p. 209.

70 Twiss, *Travels*, p. 441.

71 Twiss, *Travels*, p. 444.

72 Twiss, *Travels*, p. 449.

73 Juan Bautista Codina Bas, *Viajeros británicos por la Valencia de la Ilustración (siglo XVIII)* (Valencia, Ajuntament de Valencia, 1996), p. 38.



The attitude of British travellers to Spanish literature varies greatly from author to author. In 1777, just two years after the publication in London of Twiss's book, for example, a work by William Dalrymple entitled *Travels through Spain and Portugal in 1774* appeared, in which references to Spanish literature are reduced to a few brief mentions of the historian Mariana, *Don Quixote*, Ponz's *Viaje de España* and Father Flórez. Somewhat more abundant are the Spanish literary references used by Henry Swinburne in the drafting of his *Travels through Spain, in the years 1775 and 1776*, printed in London by P. Elmsly in 1779. This London bookseller's interest in Spanish literature is illustrated by, among other things, his subscription to some of the English translations of Spanish works like *Don Quixote*,<sup>74</sup> or his sales of Hispanic-themed works.<sup>75</sup>

The most important Spanish literary reference in Swinburne's *Viaje por España* is no doubt the one to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, joined by the omnipresent Juan de Mariana, along with Lope de Vega, Manuel Martí, Mayans, Pérez Bayer, Miguel Casiri, Father Flórez, Antonio Ponz and Sarmiento, among others.

Of all the British travellers in the list, only one of them, John Talbot Dillon, wrote a work solely dedicated to Spanish literature, with specific reference to the origins and development of Spanish verse. The book in question, entitled *Letters from an English traveller in Spain*, was published in London in 1781, and printed by R. Baldwin. This work was already intrinsically different to other accounts of British travellers, as it presented a gentler image of Spain; one which recognised its literary merit, with particular reference to verse. It is in fact considered to be the first history of Spanish verse (or indeed Spanish literature) to be written in English.<sup>76</sup>

Baldwin's knowledge of Spanish literature had been acquired during successive stays in Madrid, when he visited Mayans' library, which was known of in England thanks to his biography of Cervantes.<sup>77</sup> The result of all this was one of Britain's best-stocked libraries of Spanish-themed books of the eighteenth century. One way to approach the subject is via the Spanish references included

74 Specifically the work: *The history and adventures of the renowned Don Quixote* (Dublin, John Chambers, 1796).

75 Alexander Dalrymple, *A full and clear proof, that the Spaniards can have no claim to Balambangan* (London, printed for the author; and sold by J. Nourse, and P. Elmsly, in the Strand), 1774.

76 Nancy F. Marino, "John Talbot Dillon and his letters on the origin of Spanish poetry: a reconsideration", *Dieciocho*, 37.2 (Fall 2014), p. 194.

77 John Talbot Dillon, *Letters from an english traveller in Spain*, in 1778, on the origin progress of poetry (London, R. Baldwin; and sold by Pearson, and Rollason, 1781), p. 35.

in the *Letters*, which contain abundant examples from the 1700s, but also texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were also commonly found in the London bookshops of the day, whose stocks included Nicolás Antonio, *El Tesoro* by Covarrubias, or *Historias* by Garibay, Ocampo and Mariana, among others.<sup>78</sup>

Spanish books formed part of the usual baggage of British travellers like Dillon, and others such as Christopher Hervey, who noted that he carried, whenever he travelled alone, “a book in my pocket”, in clear allusion to a book by Gracián. Once the items collected reached a certain number, he continues, “I have sent most of my Spanish books to England”.<sup>79</sup> These possibly included some of the works by Mariana, Cervantes or Feijoo that he refers to in his book. We do not know the extent to which these books were acquired for personal use or at the request of London booksellers, who – on learning of these journeys – would submit corresponding orders to the travellers concerned. Hervey’s *Viaje* was indeed sold in the London bookshop of R. Faulder, who years later would be found selling *A Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish* (1794).

The same Mr Faulder was responsible for printing, in his shop on New Bond Street in London, *History of Spain and Portugal* (1793), a two-volume work by Wyndham Beawes, who acted as British consul in Cadiz for nearly thirty years and was therefore not, strictly speaking, a “traveller”. This stay was more than sufficient for him to be able to dedicate a long chapter to the “State of Literature, and men of learning, in Spain”, in which the author takes a detailed journey through the history of Spanish literature, dividing it into fields that include science,<sup>80</sup> a subject largely neglected by other British travellers. He includes an appendix in which he lists Spanish historians, miscellaneous works and (for him) more recent authors, among whom he does not fail to mention Feijoo, Mayans, Flórez, Sarmiento, or Father Isla, among others.

Townsend is perhaps the traveller who makes most references to Spanish scientific literature, particularly that on natural history, in which names like Casimiro Gómez Ortega stand out.<sup>81</sup> The Spanish press also caught the notice of certain British travellers, especially Twiss, although the references

78 Marino, “John Talbot Dillon”, pp. 206–209.

79 Christopher Hervey, *Letters from Portugal, Spain, Italy and Germany in the years 1759, 1760, and 1761* (London, Printed by J. Davis; for R. Faulder, 1785), p. 343.

80 Wyndham Beawes, *A civil, commercial, political, and literary History of Spain and Portugal* (London, R. Faulder, E. Jeffrey, B. Law, and J. Sewell, 1793).

81 Clara Guerrero, *Viajeros*, p. 393. Joseph Townsend, *Journey through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787* (Londres, C. Dilly, 1791).

concerned are limited to the two main periodicals of the day: *La Gazeta de Madrid* and *Mercurio*.<sup>82</sup>

These travellers were acute observers of what was going on around them, and of the corresponding cultural, particularly literary, aspects; none of which escaped their eye. The printers and booksellers did the rest, by spreading these travellers' tales and perpetuating the names of figures like Cervantes.

If Tas[s]so, Cervantes, Milton and Camoens were to coincide on a London street ... they would say (as the vulgar expression has it): *One or another of those four that walk there must be worth two hundred reals*.<sup>83</sup>

These words of Moratín act as something of a complement to the British travellers' visions of Spain that were prevalent in eighteenth-century London. Both served to promote the image of Spanish literature, particularly among booksellers, printers and other professionals of the sector. It is no coincidence that Moratín lived in London between 1792 and 1793, a period that saw him become a full member of the Spanish colony resident in the British capital.

Their social life centred on such places as the Club Hispanus, a political forum organised along the lines of a London gentlemen's club, of which several Spanish residents in London, including Moratín himself, were members. Others included the medical doctor Carlos de Gimbernat, Lugo, Pueyo, and a man named Cadalso, with whom Moratín struck up a deep friendship.<sup>84</sup> The discussions held there covered not only literary themes, but also politics and economics. Moratín, who had gone to London to study English theatre, ended up translating the complete works of Shakespeare into Spanish (published in 1798). He was also able in this respect to see the success that Spanish theatre was enjoying in Britain's capital city.

As a frequent visitor to the bookshops of Paternoster Row, Moratín must have been familiar with some of the English-language editions of *La Celestina*, and perhaps certain works by Cristóbal de Castillejo.<sup>85</sup> It is also probable that

82 Guerrero, *Viajeros*, p. 396.

83 Rafael Alarcón Sierra, "Las Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra de Leandro Fernández de Moratín: libro de viajes y fundación de una escritura moderna", *Bulletin Hispanique*, Tome 109, n°1, (2007), p. 181: "Si el Tas[s]so, Cervantes, Milton, Camoens, atravesaran por una calle de Londres ... dirían (según la frase vulgar): *aquellos cuatro que van por allí, valdrán, uno con otro, doscientos reales*".

84 Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Diario: (Mayo 1780-Marzo 1808)*. Edición anotada por René Andioc y Mirelle Coulon (Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2000).

85 Pedro Ortiz Armengol, *El año que vivió Moratín en Inglaterra 1792-1793* (Madrid, Castalia, 1985), p. 193.

he browsed, in some shop in the shadow of St Paul's Cathedral, two then recently published books that were provoking maximum interest in terms of Anglo-Spanish relations. I refer to the second edition of Townsend's work on his travels in Spain, which appeared in 1792,<sup>86</sup> and – even more importantly – to Smollet's translation of *Don Quixote*, which went on sale on 14 January 1792.<sup>87</sup> It is true that Moratín's words reveal little evidence of the physical presence of Spanish literature in the bookshops of London, but these were not the only places where Spanish books could be examined and acquired.

Certain British travellers in Spain meanwhile were astonished at Spanish bookshops, going so far as to think that Spanish works of literature were being "excessively ignored" by foreigners like them. These were also the impressions obtained by Joseph Baretti, an Italian traveller, when visiting a bookshop on Madrid's Calle Carretas.<sup>88</sup> His work entitled *A Journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain and France* was subsequently published in London. He was able, on that visit to the Madrid bookshop, to examine the *Diccionario* of the Spanish Academy and buy a copy of Aldrete's *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana* (1674), along with several books by Quevedo and Father Isla's *Fray Gerundio*.<sup>89</sup> Others were less fortunate than the Italian traveller, and wandered through Madrid without finding anything of interest in its bookshops. Only Ponz's *Viaje de España* was able to satisfy the curiosity of William Beckford, in 1787–88, for "travellers of other times", on the occasion of his visit to Ibarra's bookshop, although the plates "appeared very worn, and had been retouched so clumsily that they were almost unintelligible".<sup>90</sup> This image of Englishmen browsing the shelves of Spanish bookshops clearly manifests itself in the letters written to Mayans by Vega Sentmenat, a Catalan scholar, who wrote: "These Englishmen are strange. Four of them are currently in Madrid, buying up whatever is printed in Spanish".<sup>91</sup>

Travel books were the items most coveted by the British booksellers and bibliophiles concerned. These included books about travels in Spain, which were acquired by public and private libraries. The above-mentioned work by

86 Ortiz Armengol, *El año*, p. 297. A notice in *The Times* of 17 October and of 20 and 24 November 1792 announced the publication of the second edition of Townsend's *A Journey through Spain*.

87 Ortiz Armengol, *El año*, p. 194.

88 Robertson, *Los curiosos*, p. 57. Joseph Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain and France* (London, T. Davies, 1770).

89 Robertson, *Los curiosos*, p. 57.

90 Robertson, *Los curiosos*, p. 308. William Beckford, *Italy; with sketches of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1834).

91 Mayans y Siscar, *Epistolario XVII*, p. 501.

Baretti, for example, formed part of the private library of George III, known as the King's Library. Francis Carter's *A journey from Gibraltar to Malaga* (London: T. Cadell, 1777) meanwhile ended up in the British Museum, via the collection of a book-loving vicar named Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, in 1799.<sup>92</sup> In a similar manner, a traveller named Dillon asked his publisher G. Robinson, in 1781, to donate a bound copy of his *Travels* to the same institution, adding a note to Joseph Planta, the assistant librarian in charge of manuscripts, thanking him for his "friendly mediation in the museum".<sup>93</sup>

The world of travel at that time was directly related to the *Grand tour*, in which the sons of the British nobility were sent on an educational journey through Europe (mainly France and Italy) in the company of their tutors. In 1779 the *Westmorland*, a British privateer frigate, left Livorno for London loaded with a cargo of books, paintings, statues and other valuable objects destined for the leading figures of the British aristocracy. As luck would have it, the vessel was seized by a French fleet and taken, complete with cargo, to Malaga. After intense negotiations, the Spanish King Charles III decided to buy the booty and donate the various crates of books, along with other items, to the Royal Academy of Fine Art of San Fernando. These arrived in two deliveries in 1783–84. When they arrived, the books were catalogued by the institution's secretary, and seasoned traveller, Antonio Ponz.<sup>94</sup> One of the boxes, box F.B. to be precise, contained a Spanish work translated as *Histoire del admirable D. Guzman de Alfarache*, along with other items.<sup>95</sup>

This incident highlighted how the leading members of the British nobility obtained books, for subsequent sale to bookshops, via a maritime route that included the Italian port of Livorno. This provided access to Tuscany, the usual place of origin of merchandise destined for London.

This sea-based trade benefited not only the bookshops, but also the auction houses. The most important of these was perhaps the famous firm of Christie's, founded in 1766, which has since its inception organised sales of books, along with other items. The first sale of this type involving Spanish books appears to have taken place in 1770. The items concerned, which came from the library

92 Geoff West, "La escritura de viaje sobre España en bibliotecas británicas". Information obtained from the Virtual Cervantes Centre. Available at: [http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/viajeros/articulos/geoff\\_west.htm](http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/viajeros/articulos/geoff_west.htm).

93 West, "La escritura", p. 1.

94 José M<sup>a</sup>. Luzón Nogué, "Inventarios y marcas de los cajones transportados de Málaga a la Corte", in *El Westmorland. Recuerdos del Grand Tour* (Madrid, Fundación Caja Murcia, 2002), p. 96.

95 Luzón Nogué, "Inventarios", p. 190.

of an engraver, specifically included a five-volume Dutch edition of *Amadís de Gaula*, printed in 1760.<sup>96</sup> The same year saw further auctions. One of these included the sale of a highly select library, which likewise included a copy of *Amadís*, indicating that no one had bid for it at the previous auction.<sup>97</sup> Another auction held towards the end of the year included the sale of the library of the late Samuel More, at which Spanish literature gained a certain notoriety. It was no accident that the cover of the auction catalogue should include a Spanish book, in the shape of Pedro de Pineda's *Diccionario español*, published in 1740.<sup>98</sup> This work was part of a list that included *Histoire du Card. Ximenes*, the *Persile & Sigismonde* in four volumes, *Spanish Grammar*, also by Pineda, *Ordenanzas de su magestad para su Real Armada* (1748), las *Cartas eruditas* by Feijoo, in nine volumes, printed in Madrid in 1753; and – inevitably – *Vida de Don Quixote*; a four-volume edition printed in London in 1738 by the Tonson brothers. This latter work contained the first biography of Cervantes to be published anywhere in Europe. It was written by Mayans, who maintained, as we shall see, a rich and varied correspondence with various British intellectuals.

The authors of the Spanish Golden Age were highly sought-after in eighteenth-century London, as confirmed by the auctions organised by Christie's. An auction held in 1771, which was dedicated exclusively to the sale of books belonging to the collection of Edward Chapman, included a copy of *Quevedo's comical works* (1707), now bearing a handwritten note in a margin to indicate the name of the bookseller who acquired the work, a Mr Jutt. He bought another Spanish work at the same auction in the shape of a 1758 two-volume edition of Ulloa's *Voyage to South America*.<sup>99</sup>

References to Spanish books in Christie's sales catalogues are generally scarce, which gives us some idea of the state of the market for this type of work. The few that we do find are basically numerous, and therefore popular, works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was possible to bid at an auction held on 18 May 1773, for example, for an edition of *Don Quixote*, "in the Spanish language", printed in 1744; a work by Luis Vives in the shape of *Instruction of a christian woman*; and a book published by Antonio del Corro, a sixteenth-century Protestant, under the pseudonym "Montanus", entitled

96 CHA (Christie's Historical Archive). *A Catalogue of the genuine and entire collection of prints, copper-plates, drawings, books, &c. of the ingenious Mr. Robert Planker* [London, 1770], p. 5.

97 CHA. *A Catalogue of the genuine Household furniture, an elegant mahogany book-café, and a well chosen library, neatly bound, of Roger Wilson* [London, 1770].

98 CHA. *A Catalogue of the genuine and neat household furniture ... also a well-chosen library of books ... the whole being late the property of Samuel More* [London, 1770].

99 CHA. *A Catalogue of the library of books, of Mr. Edward Chapman Bird* [London, 1771].

*Discovery of the practices of the Inquisition of Spain.*<sup>100</sup> Two auctions held a year later were also interesting for the Spanish works of literature included in them. The first of these, involving the highly select book collection of Richard Bateman, included such sixteenth-century works as *Conquista & cruenta batalla de Rhodes* by Cristóbal de Arcos, and a copy of *Chronica del Sancto rey Fernando*, printed in Seville in 1531;<sup>101</sup> the latter being the property of a Mrs Harris, of Grosvenor Square in London. The auction was announced as involving a "Collection of books, of approved English and French authors", although it also included works by Spanish authors. One of these was a three-volume edition of *Vie de Gusman d'Alfarache*, along with the *Avantures de Don Quixote* in four volumes.<sup>102</sup>

If there is one trend that we can identify in Christie's catalogues, it is their clear preference for the Spanish Golden Age. One such sale involved the collection of Felton Hervey, a cultivated British aristocrat, which took place in his own house in 1775.<sup>103</sup> The Spanish items in his collection included Thomas Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, the first into any other European language; an edition of *Orlando Furioso*,<sup>104</sup> published in Antwerp in 1558; a work by Quevedo and an edition of *Amadís de Gaula*. Even more important for the Spanish books that it contained was the private library of an MP named Bagnall Clarke, who was also a friend of the historian Edward Gibbon. The books in his possession revealed his great concern with learning Spanish, as attested to by the presence of such items as Pedro Pineda's famous *Spanish grammar*, in its first edition of 1726, which was intended both to teach and to disseminate the Castilian language. It should not be forgotten that Pineda himself fled Spain for religious reasons, arriving in 1717 in London, where he stayed as a Spanish language teacher and acquired great notoriety, particularly among the ladies.<sup>105</sup>

100 CHA. *A Catalogue of the genuine and valuable library of books ... of Samuel Dyer* [London, 1773].

101 CHA. *A Catalogue of books belonging to the Hon. Richard Bateman, containing of a well chosen and select Library* [London, 1774].

102 CHA. *A Catalogue of the valuable and modern collection of books ... late in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Harris* [London, 1774].

103 CHA. *A Catalogue of the valuable libraries of the Hon. Felton Hervey ...* [London, 1775].

104 *La primera parte de Orlando Furioso dirigido al principe don philipe nuestro Señor: traduzido en romance castellano por don Ieronimo de Vrrea. Corregido segunda vez por el mismo ...* (En Anvers, En casa de la Biuda de Martin Nucio, 1558).

105 María Isabel López Martínez, "En torno a la figura y obra de Pedro Pineda a través de su *Corta y compendiosa arte para aprender a hablar, leer y escribir la lengua española*", *Estudios Románicos*, vol.5 (1989), p. 756.

His was not an isolated episode, as other Spaniards also left for London to teach grammar there. Such was the case of Pasqual Josep Antón, who enjoyed the protection of an important noblewoman in the form of the Duchess of Shrewsbury.<sup>106</sup> He published his *Grammática española* in London in 1711, under the auspices of the bookseller Thomas Ward. It is interesting that this same bookseller used the above work to advertise another book in his catalogue: *Liturgia Ynglesa* by Antonio de Alvarado, a Protestant presbyter from Seville who was also living in London at the time; a fact that some have interpreted as indicating the existence in London of a core group of Spanish *literati*.<sup>107</sup> This is all decidedly odd, when we take into account the fact that Antón's *Grammatica* was actually printed by Daniel Browne, who sold, as we shall see, a large number of Spanish books.

There is more than enough evidence to indicate that some of these exiles found intellectual refuge among the booksellers and printers of London, who then took the economic risk of publishing Spanish grammar books, some of which proved to be to the liking of the British nobility; particularly the ladies of the house.

The same occurred with the many editions and translations of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, which can be found in virtually all the auction catalogues of the day. These included everything from Smollet's translation and Ozell's<sup>108</sup> revised editions to versions in French<sup>109</sup> and, of course, editions in the original language, such as *La Vida y hechos de Don Quixote*, a four-volume edition published in Amsterdam in 1755, which went on sale on 25 November 1776, and which formed part of the private collection of "A gentleman gone abroad".<sup>110</sup> The version sold by Christie's in London on 12 May 1777 was likewise a Spanish original of Cervantes' text, in this case an edition published in The Hague by P. Gosse in 1744.<sup>111</sup>

106 Daniel M. Saéz Rivera, "Una gramática olvidada de español para ingleses: Antón (1711)", in José María García Martín; Victoriano Gaviño Rodríguez (coord.), *Las ideas y realidades lingüísticas en los siglos XVIII y XIX* (Cádiz, Universidad, 2009), p. 586.

107 Saéz Rivera, "Una gramática", p. 587.

108 CHA. *A Catalogue of the elegant and well chosen library of Humphrey Hanmer* [London, 1775].

109 CHA. *A Catalogue of the well chosen library of books, of a noble lord, brough from his mansion in Cambridgeshire* [London, 1775]. This is the six-volume Paris edition of 1741.

110 CHA. *A Catalogue of the well chosen and valuable library of books, and books of print of a gentleman gone abroad* [London, 1776].

111 CHA. *A Catalogue of the neat household furniture ... of a gentleman gone abroad, also his well-chosen library of books* [London, 1777].



The sale of such works by Cervantes was accompanied on occasions by other Spanish works like Juan de Mariana's *Historia de España*,<sup>112</sup> the letters of Antonio de Guevara, better known as "The Golden Epistles",<sup>113</sup> or the famous *Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor, translated into English by Bartholomew Young in 1598, and printed in London.

Mariana's *Historia de España* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote* were two emblematic works likely to be found in most British collections and auctions of the eighteenth century. Both works had also been highly successful in France, and corresponding translations and originals would likewise serve as intellectual sustenance for collectors and the curious. The reading public included women, whom educators and moralists sought to advise by recommending certain literature, so historical summaries and didactic novels duly came to form part of this "ideal library" of literature considered suitable for encouraging temperate behaviour and bettering the soul.<sup>114</sup> It was in this way that works like Mariana's histories or, to give an English example, the *History of Charles the Vth*, were recommended as part of young lady's education.<sup>115</sup>

What was true for men and women alike was that the works of both Mariana and Cervantes were unlikely to be missing from any private or public library in eighteenth-century London. A recent and more detailed analysis of collectors of the works of Cervantes in Britain of the day has been carried out on the basis of four major libraries, whose contents were all eventually auctioned off. This gives us a clearer idea of who some of the bibliophiles concerned were.<sup>116</sup>

The first of these was that of an Anglican cleric named Edward Thomas, whose book collection was sold by auction in 1787. It contained thirty-two books in Spanish, including five works by Cervantes. The second was Topham Beauclerk, whose collection was auctioned by Samuel Paterson in 1781. It included

112 CHA. *Bibliotheca Colebrookiana. A Catalogue of the large, valuable, and very elegant library of books, and books of prints, of Sir George Colebrooke* [London, 1776]. A folio edition of *Mariana Hispaniae* was sold, and the above-mentioned catalogue of Bagnall Clarke included a 1605 edition of Mariana published in Mainz.

113 CHA. *Bibliotheca Ratcliffiana. A Catalogue of the elegant and truly valuable library of John Ratcliffe* [London, 1776].

114 Mónica Bolufer Peruga, *Mujeres e Ilustración. La construcción de la femínidad en la Ilustración española* (Valencia, Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1998), p. 300.

115 Hester Chapone, *Letters on the improvement of the mind addressed to a young lady* (Philadelphia, 1786), p. 152.

116 Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, "Coleccionismo cervantino en la Inglaterra de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII a partir de los Catálogos de subastas", in Nicolás Bas Martín and Barry Taylor (eds.), *El libro español en Londres. La visión de España en Inglaterra (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Valencia, Universitat de València, 2016), pp. 101–147.

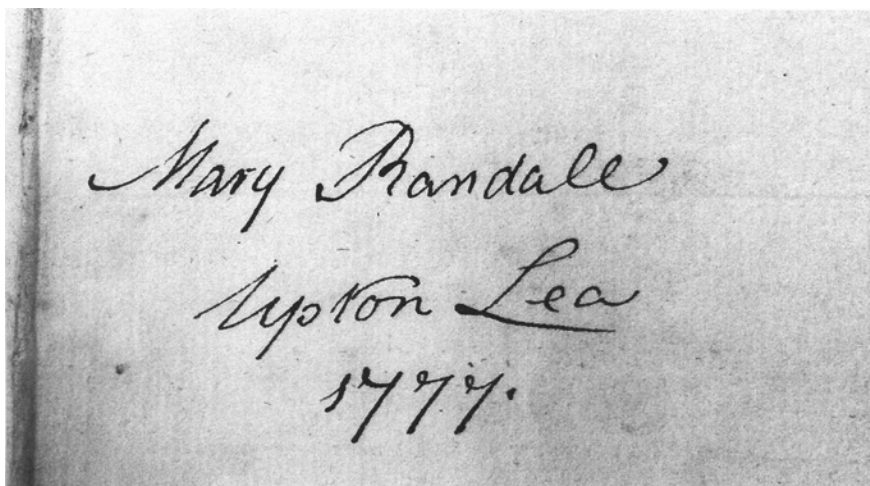


FIGURE 10 Bookplate of a lady, Mary Randall, dated 1777, in Smollet's translation of "Don Quixote" (1770 edition). BL. *The history and adventures of the renowned Don Quixote. Translated from the Spanish of Miguel De Cervantes Saavedra. To which is prefixed, some account of the author's life. By T. Smollett. London, Printed for W. Strahan, J. and F. Rivington, 1770. ESTC 59491.*

a hundred works in Spanish, of which twenty corresponded to Cervantes. The Chancellor of the Dioceses of Peterborough, Thomas Croft, who as we shall see was better known for his magnificent collection of individual manuscripts of Spanish verse, meanwhile possessed an extraordinary collection of more than five hundred Spanish books, of which twenty or so were works by Cervantes. The final name on the list is that of the Scottish anatomist, John Hunter, whose book collection containing fifteen editions of Cervantes' work was put on sale in London 1793.

The thing that really draws our attention to these book collections is not so much the shadow of Cervantes as the fact that most of the editions concerned date from the eighteenth century itself; something unusual for London of that time, as far as Spanish literature is concerned. Nevertheless, and despite this proviso, the work of Spain's literary genius still did what most London readers wanted it to do: transport them back to the nostalgic Spain of the Golden Age, which the British saw as best representing the essence of Spanish culture and, ultimately, its idiosyncrasies.

Some of the major collections of Cervantes' work that were accumulated in Britain in the following nineteenth century, such as that of Henry Spencer Ashbee, reveal – via the corresponding *Ex Libris* labels and bookplates – the names of certain English, and then British, collectors of the 1700s. These include

an English actor named John Philip Kemble, who possessed such works by Cervantes as his *Novelas* (1783), *Viaje del Parnaso* (1784) and *La Galatea* (1781), among others;<sup>117</sup> along with a gardener named Philip Southcote, who was a friend of writers like Pope; Maria Cosway, an English painter who presided over one of London's notable *salons*, attended by figures like Horace Walpole (she also maintained an intense correspondence with Thomas Jefferson); or Frederick North, the second Earl of Guilford, better known as Lord North, among others.

In other cases, evidence of ownership is not supplied by *Ex Libris* labels, but by items such as handwritten signatures, which give us the names of certain collectors of Spanish books. This is the case with a London MP named John Conduitt, who accompanied British troops in Portugal during the War of the Spanish Succession, which allowed him to acquire a nine-volume edition of Calderón's plays; all now bearing the signature of the politician temporarily posted to the guards.<sup>118</sup> He appears to have brought the books back to London in 1713, after the end of the war.

With this proviso in mind, we return to the passion for Cervantes shown by a significant number of public figures and nobles in eighteenth-century Britain. These included the wife of King George II, his German queen consort Caroline de Brandenburg-Ansbach. Her library of almost three thousand books included a place for "The History of Spain", although everything indicates that most were translations, rather than works in the Spanish original, subject to exceptions like Cervantes' *Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* (1719), the spine of which bears the queen's royal cipher as a mark of her ownership.<sup>119</sup> This detail makes this Spanish book stand out among the rest of the collection.

The great collections and major auctions of London give us, in contrast to the accounts of travellers, a more classical vision of Spain; one that tends to belong to the Golden Age, in which the major names of Spanish literature emerged. These books were more in tune with the literary tastes of London's bibliophiles and booksellers, who were more interested in rare editions, unique copies and items from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as opposed to works from the then-current Age of Enlightenment.

117 Barry Taylor and Geoffrey West, "The Cervantes collection of Henry Spencer Ashbee", in Tom Lathrop (ed.), *Studies in Spanish Literature in Honor of Daniel Eisenberg* (Newark, Delaware, Juan de la Cuesta, 2009), p. 346.

118 Don W. Cruickshank, "El otro Chorley: el teatro clásico español en Inglaterra", in Nicolás Bas Martín and Barry Taylor (eds.), *El libro español en Londres. La visión de España en Inglaterra (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Valencia, Universitat de València, 2016), pp. 81–201.

119 María Luisa López-Vidriero, *The polished cornerstone of the Temple. Queenly Libraries of the Enlightenment* (London, The British Library, 2005), pp. 23–37.



FIGURE 11 Copy of “La Vida y hechos del Quixote” (1719), belonging to Caroline of Brandenburg. López-Vidriero, María Luisa, *The polished cornerstone of the Temple. Queenly Libraries of the Enlightenment* (London, The British Library, 2005).

## 2.2 *Don Quixote* in English (1738)

There is one book that stands out among all the other works of the Spanish Golden Age: Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*. In fact the year 1738, which marked the publication of the first biography of Spain’s literary genius, was also something of a turning point in the history of the presence of Spanish literature in London.

The novel and its author were of course previously well known in Britain, but not with the intensity that applied once this edition of the *Life of Cervantes* had been published in London. *Don Quixote* has influenced Great Britain like no other country, be it in terms of language, thought, the science of politics or literature. Imitators and enthusiasts alike agree that Cervantes’ great book is their work of reference.<sup>120</sup>

Indeed the novel became a literary model in England from virtually the seventeenth century onwards, as the corresponding translations and adaptations confirm. This is not the place to discuss all of them, which have in any case been extensively studied elsewhere, but it is worth noting the influence that they had on the London public in their approach to Spanish literature. We should also consider the impact of this work on the capital city’s booksellers, who were capable like no one else of sounding out public tastes.

The first impact was logically on the English language itself, which came up with new idiomatic expressions like the adjective *quixotic*. Furthermore, and given the success that the genre was enjoying in England at the time, the theatre was one of the first media to popularise *Don Quixote*. It did so via adaptations that sought to bring the British public closer to a subject hitherto unknown to

120 J.A.G. Ardila, “Cervantes en Inglaterra. *El Quijote* en los albores de la novela británica”, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Vol. 83, No. 5 (2006), p. 156.

them, namely a parody dealing with the perverse effects of reading the literature of chivalry. This perception was then altered by another vision involving *Don Quixote's* exaltation of the code of chivalry.<sup>121</sup> In one way or another, the English stage was the best test bench that the booksellers had at their disposal for trying out Londoners' literary tastes, as evidenced by other Spanish playwrights whose works were performed, in addition to the above mentioned pieces based on Cervantes' celebrated novel, in the British capital's crowded theatres.

All this resulted in a certain specialisation on the part of the booksellers, some of whom saw Spanish literature as an attractive genre in terms of sales. This helps to explain why a bookseller named J. Almon should publish, in 1777, an account of Dalrymple's famous trip to Spain; and also the grounds, a few years later, for putting on a theatrical adaptation of Frederick Pilon's *Barataria, or Sancho turned governor. A Farce* (1785), which was followed by the second edition of 1793, likewise published in London.<sup>122</sup>

The Spanish Golden Age occupied a privileged position within this specialisation. Indeed many British novelists adopted a large part of their respective narrative concepts from Spanish novels published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which began to appear in translation at the end of the 1600s. The booksellers of the eighteenth century meanwhile, realising the impact of these translations, began to sell them alongside original versions. It was the novelists themselves who therefore tended to dictate what the bookseller stocked, on the basis of their translations and adaptations. *Lazarillo* was in fact one of Shakespeare's favourite books, and *Don Quixote* came to be considered as a picaresque novel in Britain.<sup>123</sup>

This was the line taken by the two translations of 1700, by Captain John Stevens and Peter Motteux respectively. The first of these was an enthusiastic lover of the Spanish picaresque tradition, whom we also have to thank for works like *Estevanillo González* (London, 1707; reprinted in 1709 and 1780). Motteux, for his part, disseminated a buffoonish take on Cervantes' novel, which he used to deliver a harsh criticism of the Spanish aristocracy.<sup>124</sup> These translations were not limited to Cervantes' great novel, but also included renderings of a large section of his other works, like *Novelas ejemplares*, which in turn included titles

121 J.A.G. Ardila, "Traducción y recepción del 'Quijote' en Gran Bretaña (1612–1774)", *Anales Cervantinos*, vol. XXXVII (2005), p. 254.

122 J.A.G. Ardila, "Las adaptaciones teatrales del *Quijote* en Inglaterra (del siglo XVII al XIX)", *Anales Cervantinos*, vol. XLI (2009), p. 241.

123 J.A.G. Ardila, "The influence and reception of Cervantes in Britain, 1607–2005", in J.A.G. Ardila (ed.), *The Cervantean heritage. Reception and influence of Cervantes in Britain* (London, Legenda, 2009), p. 3. Ardila, "Traducción", p. 257.

124 Ardila, "Traducción", p. 257.

such as *Celoso extremeño*, *La Gitanilla*, *El coloquio de los perros*, *El licenciado Vidriera* or *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, among others.<sup>125</sup>

But none had the resonance of *Don Quixote*, which gave rise to the expression “quixotic fiction” for a genre that would subsequently inundate the English-speaking book market. In fact, forty-five editions of the novel were published in England; more than in Spain itself. This enthusiasm on the part of the British even came to define an English fiction genre of the eighteenth century, which dealt with the adventures of figures similar to the hapless *hidalgo* from La Mancha, and which enjoyed unprecedented success in Britain. These fictional tales based on *Don Quixote* were above all satires consisting of veiled criticism of British society of the day. They include some major English novels of the time, such as *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, Henry Fielding’s comedy *Don Quixote in England*, *Tristan Shandy* by Laurence Sterne, *Roderick Random* and *Humphry Clinker* by Tobias Smollett, or Jane Austen’s *Northanger Abbey*, among others. We owe our thanks to Smollett for one of the most important editions of *Quixote*, *The history and adventures of the renowned Don Quixote* (1755), which included a biography of Cervantes. It was issued no fewer than nineteen times in the course of the eighteenth century, and reprinted on several occasions.<sup>126</sup> In this edition, Smollett presented a vision of *Don Quixote* that was more comic than any that had previously been transmitted in English. It was Smollett himself who said, when referring to Fielding, “The genius of Cervantes was transfused into the novels of Henry Fielding”.<sup>127</sup>

The reception of *Don Quixote* did not neglect the female public. In fact one of the most interesting approaches that we have is that of Charlotte Lennox in her *Female Quixote* (1752), where the protagonist, Arabella is, like the original Don Quixote, an avid reader who likewise suffers from episodes of delusion and folly.<sup>128</sup> Another highly likely reader of this book, and of particular Spanish works such as *Celestina*, which she read in 1791, was the British writer Hester Thrale, who demonstrated a great knowledge of *Don Quixote* in her

125 Arantza Mayo and J.A.G. Ardila, “The English translations of Cervantes works across the centuries”, in J.A.G. Ardila, (ed.), *The Cervantean heritage*, p. 58.

126 Julie Candler Hayes, “Eighteenth-century english translations of *Don Quixote*”, in J.A.G. Ardila (ed.), *The Cervantean heritage. Reception and influence of Cervantes in Britain* (London, Legenda, 2009), p. 71.

127 J.A.G. Ardila, “Henry Fielding: from Quixotic satire to the Cervantean novel”, in J.A.G. Ardila (ed.), *The Cervantean heritage*, p. 124.

128 Amy J. Pawl, “Feminine transformations of the *Quixote* in Eighteenth-century England: Lennox’s *Female Quixote* and her sisters”, in J.A.G. Ardila (ed.), *The Cervantean heritage*, p. 166.

English-language adaptations.<sup>129</sup> The same is true of Anna Margareta Larpen, the daughter of a British diplomat, whose diary provides us with some clues regarding her reading habits, including an indication “that her sibling read no novels, except Evelina & the spiritual Quixotte”.<sup>130</sup>

Motteux translation of *Don Quixote* was followed by those of Charles Jarvis (1742), Smollett (1755), George Kelly (1769) and the final one of the eighteenth century, that of Charles Henry Wilmot, published in 1774. As the century drew to a close, the British began to read other works by Cervantes, such as *Viaje del Parnaso* and *La Galatea* (1791). This tendency increased thanks to constant allusions to Cervantes’ celebrated work by prominent writers such as Samuel Johnson, Daniel Defoe or Jonathan Swift. In fact, the latter knew the Spanish work thanks to Sir William Temple, and lobbied John Hyde as part of his attempt to publish his translation of eight chapters of *Don Quixote*.<sup>131</sup> These factors show how the English editions emphasised, with respect to their Spanish and French counterparts, “the number and quality of the translations that come to light”.<sup>132</sup>

Some authors have wished to see, in this unusual interest in Spanish narrative fiction on the part of eighteenth-century Britons, a lack of inspiring or authoritative models of their own. The British saw, in the Spanish Golden Age, certain historical and literary similarities with their own era, which contributed to their approach to genres like the picaresque, which arose in part from the growth of their cities.<sup>133</sup> In the same manner, Spain’s maritime progress in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could be seen as having a parallel with Britain’s almost total domination of the seas during the century of the Enlightenment. British novelists, translators and writers of adaptations found in Spanish literature, in short, more than just intellectual reference models, rules of conduct or social criticism.

These considerations help to explain the fact that the first critical edition of *Don Quixote* (of 1738), the first annotated version (of 1781, by John Bowle), and indeed the first biography of Cervantes (of 1738) were all published in Britain.<sup>134</sup>

129 Jacqueline Pearson, *Women’s reading in Britain 1750–1835* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 136.

130 John Brewer, “Reconstructing the reader: prescriptions, texts and strategies in Anna Larpen’s Reading”, in James Raven, *The practice and representation of reading in England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 233.

131 Brean Hammond, “The Cervantic legacy in the eighteenth-century novel”, in J.A.G. Ardila (ed.), *The Cervantean heritage*, p. 97.

132 Jean Canavaggio, *Don Quijote. Del libro al mito* (Madrid, Espasa, 2006), p. 98.

133 J.A.G. Ardila, “Recepción de la narrativa áurea en la Gran Bretaña Setecentista”, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 83 (2006), p. 14.

134 Ronald Paulson, *Don Quixote in England. The aesthetics of laughter* (Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. IX.

I would like to examine the third of the above works in some detail, as it had the greatest impact on British society, and thus on London's world of books.

Nothing is born of spontaneous generation, and still less this first biography of Cervantes. Its origins can be traced back quite accurately to 1733, coinciding with Valencia-born Gregorio Mayans' tenure as Royal Librarian in Madrid. He had, as an already well-known thinker on cultural matters, the opportunity to attend various *salons* in the Spanish capital, and it was at one such gathering that he met Britain's future ambassador to Madrid, Benjamin Keene. Mayans gave him a copy of his *Cartas Morales* (of 1734) shortly afterwards. Its dedication to Spain's first secretary of state, José Patiño, outlined a large part of Mayans' reformist cultural agenda.<sup>135</sup> It appears that Keene intended to carry out a very ambitious plan, culturally speaking. It envisaged the publication of the works of Antonio Agustín, and probably already included at least a rough draft of a book on Cervantes. Mayans was just the right man to come to in this regard, given his great library and, particularly, his proven record of scholarship. Mayans acted as the go-between of Keene and Lord Carteret, a declared admirer of Cervantes, which was crucial for the success of the enterprise.

As this publishing venture was going on, Keene had privileged access to the best of Spanish literature thanks to the indications provided by Mayans, which allowed him to enrich both his own library and those of his friends back in Britain with an abundance of Spanish books. The latter is confirmed by the British diplomat's own correspondence, in which we find references to the despatch to England of various issues of the *Gazeta de Madrid*, addressed to several of his countrymen, including Lord Huntingdon,<sup>136</sup> the Bishop of Chester and others.<sup>137</sup> The involvement of *amateurs* in the diplomatic corps, like Keene, was in fact one of the most common ways in which Spanish literature came to the notice of the British.

We should nevertheless remember that the friendship between Mayans and Keene existed thanks to Mayans' former teacher Manuel Martí, who had taken up contact with certain British intellectuals and booksellers several years previously, with a view to selling the contents of his library. Disappointed with Spain's cultural scene, the deacon thought that his reading matter might be more respected in Britain, given the intellectual laziness of his countrymen. It was therefore no coincidence that several Britons expressed their interest in acquiring the contents of the library, as likewise confirmed by Mayans' own

135 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Vida de Cervantes*. Estudio de A. Mestre Sanchis (Valencia, Consell Valencià de Cultura, 2006), p. XIV.

136 Richard Lodge (ed.), *The private correspondence of Sir Benjamin Keene, K.B* (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1933). Letter dated 16 August 1754, p. 374.

137 Lodge, *The private*, p. 453. Letter dated 6 February 1756.



correspondence. As early as 1728, and with a pain that seemed to tear at him from inside, he recounted with anguish his visit to “a certain London book-seller” so that he could examine his books and buy them from him. Thus began one of the saddest and most painful episodes of the Spanish Enlightenment: the sale in London of Martí’s book collection, along with the destruction of hundreds of manuscripts, which Martí burned so that that they would not become, as he put it, “cucuruchos de venenos y de pimienta, envoltorios de incienso, o (si place a los dioses) se utilizarían como papel en los servicios”.<sup>138</sup>

These harsh words reveal the intense pain that the erstwhile deacon suffered on seeing how the British appreciated his intellectual legacy far more than his own countrymen. He expressed this anguish and despair in some lines of verse that I cannot but reproduce here:

Books written under bad omens,  
and sterile volumes, submit to the flames.  
Even more, may you be damned, loathsome books, empty of art;  
go to hell you criminals  
of no renown and with no value for me.  
And you, odious Minerva, false goddess,  
destroyer of good and diligent minds,  
useless deity, unpleasant inspiration,  
attractive murderess, be you gone far from here.  
Cease in your seduction of our minds.  
I hate you and your lies,  
and abhor the treacherous deceptions that you employ,  
mistress of evil, to lure tormented souls to their sad demise.  
Nights consumed by a mad and stubborn eagerness,  
misspent, empty,  
works created during this vigil perished completely and utterly,  
because of a cruel divinity,  
volumes written under bad omens,  
sterile books, submit to the flames.  
Delights of other times, rest now, to the relief of your master,  
broken and wearied by work.  
But now you are just refuse, things of pure simplicity;  
mere trifles, be gone far from here.

138 *Epistolario III, Mayans y Martí*. Estudio preliminar de A. Mestre Sanchis (Oliva, Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1973), p. 183: “cornets of poison and pepper, with wrappers of incense, or (if it pleases the gods) used as paper in the toilets”. Letter from Martí to Mayans, 13 April 1728.

Enrage Mulciber, sacred writings,  
 and may the wrath of Vulcan destroy the shelves and their books,  
 devouring all.  
 What lack of control or madness led me,  
 fool that I am, to dare to contemplate the sacred or occult entrance  
 and august threshold of Minerva?  
 And to push against those sacred doors?  
 Alas! I was lost by the beauty of my wit.  
 Here, here, smuggler of books.  
 Take away this towering pile of volumes,  
 worthless weight of trinkets and trifles.  
 Let the gods decide to give them a better and more pleasant fate.  
 Cruel fortune is what makes me pale,  
 horribly and enviously constraining me and leaving me weak.  
 And as the famous player did in other times,  
 I have lived a life without glory,  
 a stranger to fame,  
 ignored by my homeland and my fellow citizens, condemned to obscurity.  
 Oh, but enough of these ravings!  
 Gain strength, past times.  
 Enough of these trinkets and trifles.  
 Vainly tinkling bells and barbarous din,  
 words in the Scythian tongue, live unscathed,  
 with hindrance from no one.  
 Let the foolish and fatuous admire the clacking castanets of quarrelsome  
 buffoons, empty words of little value or ado,  
 the sharp weeds of an untilled field.  
 We, whom fortune decreed should utter words in the ears of the Batavians,  
 vainly thresh the wind and plough barren earth  
 let us snore noisily and sleep soundly.  
 Let idle dreams harass him who is abed,  
 I shall rouse him with my noisy snoring.<sup>139</sup>

139 *Epistolario III*, p. 186:

“Libros escritos bajo infaustos presagios, / y volúmenes estériles, id al fuego. / Más aún,  
 malditos seáis, libros infames, sin arte, vacíos; / criminales, id al diablo, / nombre triste  
 y sin valor para mí. / Y tú, odiosa Minerva, diosa mentirosa, / destrucción de las mentes  
 diligentes y buenas, / diosa inútil, numen desagradable, / atractiva asesina, vete muy lejos.  
 / Deja de seducir nuestra mente. / Te odio a ti y a tus embustes, / y abomino de los pérfidos  
 engaños con los que tú, / señora del mal, sueles atraer a las esforzadas almas hacia el triste  
 fin. / Noches agotadas por un afán loco y pertinaz, / mal empleadas, vacías, / perecisteis

Martí's bitter words were not fictional; they reflected the harsh reality of the destruction and burning of part of his personal papers to prevent them falling into neglectful hands or, what was worse, being destroyed by others. It thus came to pass that on 3 February 1729, Martí's enormous collection of some four thousand volumes and almost forty incunables was sold in London at the Covent Garden bookshop of David Lyon.<sup>140</sup>

The sale of Martí's book collection in London provoked much interest for Spanish literature in the city. This applied to certain authors in particular, like Antonio Agustín, for whom Mayans had become a champion all over Europe, including London. His *Vida de Antonio Agustín* (1734) was, in the view of certain authors, vital to introducing the work of Mayans to Britain.<sup>141</sup> Years later, a British traveller named Talbot Dillon confessed, on a visit to Mayans' house in Oliva in Spain, to having translated the latter's *Vida de Antonio Agustín* into English. Martí himself also mentioned the success of Antonio Agustín's *Diálogos* in Britain, saying "the English have gone as far as they can; having increased the price so much that they are paying up to ninety doubloons for that book in London".<sup>142</sup>

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completa y enteramente libros hechos en la vigilia, / por culpa de una divinidad cruel, / volúmenes escritos bajo infaustos presagios, / estériles libros, marchad al fuego. / En otro tiempo delicias, descanso, alivio de tu señor, / cansado y roto por el trabajo. / Pero ahora sois basura, puras simplezas; / sosas bagatelas, idos muy lejos. / Escritos sagrados inflamada a Mulciber, / y que el furor de Vulcano destruya los estantes y los libros. / Devoradlo todo. / ¿Qué falta de control o qué locura me impulsó a que, / necio de mí, osara contemplar la sagrada u oculta entrada / y el augusto umbral de Minerva? / ¿Y a empujar las sagradas puertas? / ¡Ay! la hermosura de mi ingenio me perdió. / Aquí, aquí, librero traficante. / Llévate de aquí esta gran cantidad de volúmenes, / peso sin valor, bagatelas y naderías. / Que los dioses decidan entregarles una suerte mejor y más agradable. / A mí la fortuna cruel que hace palidecer, / horrible y envidiosa me constriñe y debilita. / Y como en otro tiempo el famoso citado, / he pasado mi vida sin gloria, / estando en silencio la fama, / ignorado por mi patria y mis conciudadanos, / y en la oscuridad. / ¡Oh!, ya más que suficiente he delirado. / Tiempos pasados, cobrad fuerza. / Ya basta de bagatelas y nimiedades. / Vanos cascabeles y bárbaros estridores, / palabras del lenguaje escita, vivid incólumes, / sin que os lo impida nadie. / Que los necios y fatuos admiren las castañuelas de los pendencieros bufones, las palabras vacías, las nueces sin valor, / los espinares ásperos del campo sin cultivo. / Nosotros, a quienes nos tocó en suerte proferir palabras a los oídos bátavos, azotar en vano los vientos y arar los campos estériles; / ronquemos fuertemente y durmamos a pierna suelta. / Que el inactivo sueño acose al que está acostado, / yo haré ruido con mi sonoro ronquido".

140 *Bibliotheca Martiniana, being a Catalogue of the Library of the learned Don Emmanuel Martin, of Alicant; lately brought from Spain* (London, [David Lyon], 1729).

141 Santiago Aleixos Alapont, "La aportación de Mayans en el descubrimiento de Antonio Agustín por los ilustrados europeos", *Estudis*, 32 (2006), p. 374.

142 *Epistolario III*, p. 259.

BIBLIOTHECA MARTINIANA:  
BEING A  
CATALOGUE  
OF THE  
LIBRARY

Of the LEARNED  
DON EMMANUEL MARTIN,  
of ALICANT;

Lately Brought from *Spain*.

WITH AN  
APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF

Original PICTURES and *Books* of PRINTS,  
Collected Abroad by DAVID LYON.

Which will begin to be Sold (the Price mark'd on each  
Book and Picture) at *HIS* Shop, in *Russel-street*,  
*Covent-Garden*, *Tuesday* the 3d of *February* 17<sup>th</sup> 20.

CATALOGUES are to be had *gratis* at the  
Place of SALE,

L O N D O N, M.DCC.XXIX.

FIGURE 12 *Sale catalogue of the book collection of Manuel Martí, London 1729. BL. Bibliotheca Martiniana. London: [s.n.], M.DCC.XXIX. [1729]. ESTC T60438.*

Although interest in Spanish literature grew as a result of the Martí sale, it cannot really be said that Mayans' biography of Agustín was responsible for its dissemination in Britain, or even, as we shall see, his subsequent biography of Cervantes, as Mayans was – strangely and even amazingly – almost nowhere to be found on London's book market.

This does not in way detract from the efforts of both Martí and Mayans to promote their respective works, and those of other major Spanish authors, on the other side of the Channel. With his book collection sold, the deacon starting editing, while he was still in London, his famous *Epistolario latino*. He even boasted "I have corresponded, both like this and personally, with many an Englishman".<sup>143</sup> The most important of these was Keene the ambassador, who ended up footing most of the bill for publishing *Epistolarum libri XII* (1735), which was finally printed in Madrid with a dedication to Keene from Martí. This was evidence of the esteem that the British diplomat, in his determination to defend Martí's interests, had gained in England, where he had important friends, including a Mr Bius, to whom Martí arranged for a copy of his *Epistolario Latino* to be sent as part of his numerous efforts to see the book printed in London. As Martí himself concluded on the subject: "I am better known in London than I am in Spain".<sup>144</sup> We know that Martí's friend gave a copy of the work to the speaker of parliament, "who is the world's greatest critic, with a delicate feeling for the Latin language", and then asked for another copy "for another person who is a London Oracle of erudition and critical wisdom".<sup>145</sup>

This interest on the part of the British in the works of Martí is highlighted in another of the author's letters to a Portuguese intellectual named Almeida, which notes that "the whole of Europe favours me, with orders from London booksellers that offer great advantages, like those of Germany, for any works of mine destined for a public début".<sup>146</sup>

This legacy of Martí was passed on to Mayans, who became the prestigious advisor of individuals like Keene, to whom he supplied numerous books, including Juan de Ferreras' *Sinopsis histórica*. On other occasions, Martí's correspondence contains mentions of figures such as a busily well-connected Valencian bookseller named Juan de Cabrera, who was given the mission of acquiring works by Cervantes for his English client. Indeed Mayans' intention from the beginning was to publish his work on Cervantes in Valencia, for which he put his own library at Keene's disposal. As we now know however, the famous *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes* was ultimately published by the Tonson

143 *Epistolario III*, p. 285. Letter from Martí to Mayans, 24 April 1733.

144 *Epistolario III*, p. 358. Letter from Manuel Martí to Mayans, 27 July 1735.

145 *Epistolario III*, p. 397. Letter from Martí to Mayans, 15 August 1736.

146 *Epistolario III*, p. 443. Letter from Martí to Almeida, 10 April 1736.

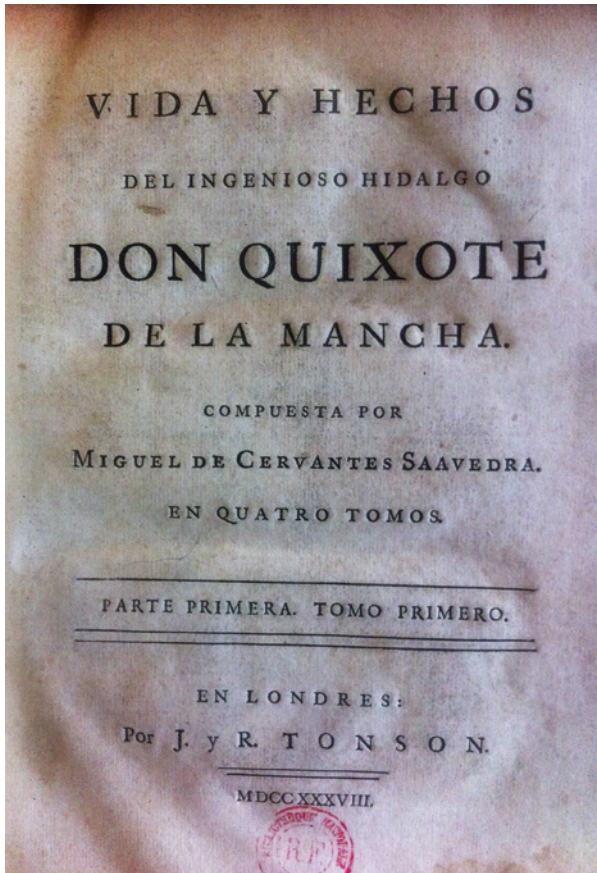


FIGURE 13 *The 1738 London edition of "Don Quixote," which included a biography of Cervantes written by Mayans. BV. Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha. En Londres: J. y R. Tonson, 1738. Cervantina/77.*

brothers and printed as a two-volume edition in London in 1738, making it Mayans' most published work.

This English edition of a Spanish biographical work had a major impact on eighteenth-century London, and made Cervantes known all over the city. A fluctuating interest in Spanish literature was now put on a firmer basis with this direct access to the life of Spain's greatest author; a phenomenon which, as we shall see, the booksellers were able to grasp to perfection. In fact this moment marked the launch of multiple editions, annotated versions and translations of *Don Quixote* and Cervantes' works in general. The Tonson edition brought the London public closer to *Don Quixote*, in which the reader could discern various features of British society, culture and political life of the day.

This perfectly illustrates how Cervantes' great novel acted as the key work in the acquisition of a magnificent collection of Spanish books such as that of the Reverend John Bowle; better known for publishing the first annotated edition of *Don Quixote* of 1781. His interest in the Hispanic world can be seen both in his library and in the correspondence that he maintained with Thomas Percy, who was a fellow collector of Spanish literature. Further examination of these two sources allows us to reconstruct more accurately the ways in which Spanish books managed to reach London.

Although Bowle never visited Spain, he possessed a splendid personal collection of almost four hundred works of literature in Spanish. Evidence of this can be seen in his acquisition, on 5 May 1783, of part of the book collection of the Chancellor of the Dioceses of Peterborough, and a fellow of the Royal Antiquarian Society, Thomas Crofts. Our attention is drawn to lot number 4605 of the sale catalogue, described as "A collection of scarce poetical pieces, chiefly in the latter end of the sixteenth century".<sup>147</sup> These included thirty-one loose Spanish verse, printed between 1588 and 1598, which Crofts had kept in his library.<sup>148</sup> Nearly all of them belong to the genres of vulgar, miraculous or fantastic literature, and they bear a Seville imprint as possible evidence of having been bought there. It is likely that the description of lot number 4725 of the 1790 sale catalogue of the English clergyman's book collection also refers to these manuscripts in its mention of "A collection of ballads in the Spanish Language" in two volumes.<sup>149</sup>

The Spanish book collection of Bowle is exemplary in many respects. In first place, it is one of the best collections – in terms of both number and quality – of Spanish literature in British hands. Its chronological profile follows the tendency of other private collections of Spanish books of the day to concentrate on works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although the eighteenth century, which accounts for almost 35% of the total, is considerably better represented than in other collections of the type. It is somewhat curious on the other hand, given the undeniable interest of British collectors for incunables, that neither this private library nor virtually any other British collection of the day contained items from Spain from the earliest period of printing.

Bowle's enthusiasm for Spanish literature is highlighted by his correspondence with key contacts in Spain, such as Juan Antonio Pellicer or the printer

147 Pedro Cátedra and Víctor Infantes. *Los pliegos sueltos de Thomas Croft (Siglo XVI)* (Valencia, Albatros Ediciones, 1983), p. 20.

148 Cátedra, *Los pliegos*, p. 43.

149 *A Catalogue of the library of the Rev. John Bowle, M.A.F.S.A ... Editor of Don Quixote in Spanish* ([London, s.n., 1790]), p. 157.

Antonio de Sancha, who supplied him with large numbers of books;<sup>150</sup> including those that provided him with the rich material needed to publish his edition of *Don Quixote*. This list of works includes *Covarrubias Tesoro*, the famous *Diccionario, Gramática y Ortografía de la lengua castellana* of the Spanish Royal Academy and Aldrete's *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana o romance*.<sup>151</sup> And it naturally included the various editions of *Don Quixote* itself, which Bowle treasured thanks to his friendship with Percy, who was obsessed with creating what he called a "Quixotic library". This collection was made possible thanks to the help of Bowle, whom he asked to seek out copies among the booksellers of the city of Salisbury, where the reverend lived, for the purpose of setting up his quixotic library. As Percy wrote, "I send you a very full Catalogue of *Don Quixote's Library*: You will at once see what I have; and what I want".<sup>152</sup>

Percy's letters give a distilled summary of the large amounts of news regarding the type and supply of Spanish books. The most important of these sources was the travels of friends all over Europe, who constantly sent him shipments of books. These contacts included Louis Dutens, a French diplomat and writer, and the traveller Baretti, among others. But the roster is headed by a British merchant "long resident in Spain", who had his list of *Libri desiderati* on which to base the corresponding acquisitions.<sup>153</sup> These suppliers complemented the more conventional bookshops of London and the auctions that Percy and Bowle attended to add to their collections of Spanish books. Specific reference is made to one of these sales in the shape of the auction held in London in 1775 of the collection of physician and bibliophile Anthony Askew, better known as the *Bibliotheca Askveiana*, where they acquired works by Bartolomé De Las Casas, among others. They also mention certain bookshops, such as that of the Scotsman Thomas Davies, whose premises were in Covent Garden, and where Percy found a copy of el Pinciano's *Refranes*.<sup>154</sup> There is also reference to the London bookshop of Peter Elmsley on the Strand, where Bowle acquired both "the first part of a *Viage de España* printed the last year at Madrid" and an edition of *Don Quixote*.<sup>155</sup>

150 R. Merritt Cox, "The library of the reverend John Bowle: revelations in english Hispanism", *Studies in Honor of Gerald E. Wade* (Madrid, José Porrúa Turanzas, 1979), p. 24.

151 Daniel Eisenberg, "La edición del *Quijote* de John Bowle (1781). Sus dos emisiones", in *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 23.2 (2003), p. 49.

152 Daniel Eisenberg (ed.), *Thomas Percy & John Bowle. Cervantine Correspondence* (Exeter, University of Exeter, 1987). Letter No. 2. Letter from Percy to Bowle. Northumberland House. 12 March 1767.

153 Eisenberg, *Thomas*. Letter No. 6. Letter from Percy to Bowle. Northumberland House. 24 October 1767.

154 Eisenberg, *Thomas*. Letter No. 25. Letter from Bowle to Percy. Idmiston. 30 January 1773.

155 Eisenberg, *Thomas*. Letter No. 25. Letter from Bowle to Percy. Idmiston. 30 January 1773.



Many other booksellers, in addition to those mentioned in the rich correspondence of Percy and Bowle, also traded in Spanish literature. One of them was Paul Vaillant, a member of the famous Stationers Company, whose shop on the Strand had Percy as a frequent visitor. As the latter said in one of his letters: "He told me that he expected soon a large bale of Spanish books".<sup>156</sup>

Percy was not exaggerating in this respect, as the catalogue of Vaillant, a French Huguenot, did indeed contain a considerable number of Spanish works. He was in fact one of the booksellers with the largest number of Spanish items in stock. The first of his catalogues, dated 1745, includes more than two hundred Spanish books, the majority (70%) of which date from the seventeenth century. There was also a manuscript and an incunable.<sup>157</sup> The manuscript is Diego Henríquez Castillo's *Crónica del rey Don Henrique IV*, of which various manuscript versions from between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries still exist, along with a printed edition from the 1700s. The Spanish National Library in Madrid curiously holds an eighteenth-century copy containing the bookplate of Henry Edward Bunbury, an English historian from the end of the eighteenth century, who possibly acquired his copy from Vaillant.<sup>158</sup>

Other outstanding items in the printed catalogues of the Huguenot bookseller include a single incunable entitled *Cinco tratados, los Tratados del doctor Alonso Ortiz* (1493), written by the court chaplain of Ferdinand and Isabella. Historical chronicles also abound, as do biographies, like a copy of *Flos sanctorum* (1595) by Alonso de Villegas; naturally accompanied by histories of America by Herrera and Solís and Mariana's *Historia de España*. There are likewise numerous books on military subjects like fortification. There is on the other hand a notable lack of purely literary works, with just one edition of *Don Quixote* (from 1744), and three of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (from 1603, 1604 and 1681 respectively) to vary slightly the subjects on offer.

Let us now jump forward twenty years. Vaillant's catalogue of the year in question (1762) now offers just half the number of Spanish books. The international situation was perhaps not favourable. The Seven Years War, which had erupted barely a year before, was to see Anglo-Spanish enmity expressed on the seas of the Americas, as Spain strengthened its royal family ties with France in an effort to curb Britain's overseas ambitions. This was echoed in Vaillant's

156 Eisenberg, Thomas. Letter No. 7. Letter from Percy to Bowle. Northumberland House. 21 January 1768.

157 *Catalogus librorum apud Paulum Vaillant, bibliopolam, Londini venales prostantium: or, A catalogue of books in most languages and faculties, sold by Paul Vaillant, bookseller, in the Strand* [London, 1745].

158 BNE (Biblioteca Nacional de España), MSS/18403. Diego Enríquez del Castillo. *Cronica del rey D. Enrrique Quarto, de gloriosa memoria, en que se cuenta todo lo que pasó desde el día que comenzó a reynar hasta el día que murió* [Manuscript].

book catalogue, which – despite offering titles similar to those contained in those of previous years – provided glimpses of a greater “modernity” in terms of the now more numerous Spanish books of the eighteenth century. The literature section, which was now more balanced, included titles like Ercilla’s *La Araucana* (1735), three eighteenth-century editions of the works of Cervantes and copies of Quevedo’s *Obras escogidas* (1757), along with two emblematic works of the Spanish Enlightenment: León Pinelo’s *Bibliotheca oriental* (1737) and a fourteen-volume edition of Feijoo’s *El teatro crítico* (1758), a work virtually unknown to British booksellers.

Benjamin White, to who we will return, was another London bookseller who imported literature from Spain. Bowle’s correspondence reveals that he had ordered a copy of Pellicer’s *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca de Traductores Españoles* for his bookshop.<sup>159</sup> This same correspondence also supplies us with important information on the sale of Spanish books on the London market of the eighteenth century, as it includes such useful details as the lists of subscribers to Bowle’s *Quixote*. This highly fruitful source leads us to consider the interest of these buyers in Spanish literature. They include Heneage Finch, the Fourth Earl of Aylesford, and a member of both the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries; the critic Thomas Tyrwhitt, also a fellow of the Royal Society, whose book collection would eventually be passed on to the British Museum; and Daines Barrington, a naturalist; along with a commentator of Shakespeare, George Steevens, whose richly endowed library was sold in London on 13 May 1800. It contained the following Spanish books:<sup>160</sup>

- Miguel de Cervantes. *Historia del Don Quixote de la Mancha, con anotaciones, &c Juan Bowle*. 6 vol. in 3. 4°. Londres, 1781.
- John Bowle. *Letter to Percy on Don Quixote*. 4°. London, 1777.
- Cervantes. *Don Quixote, translated by John Shelton*. 2 vol. in 1. 3°. With the frontispieces. London, 1612–20.
- Cervantes. *Don Quixote, translated by Charles Jarvis*. in two volumes 8°. Plates. London, 1749.
- Don Francisco de Quevedo. *Oeuvres, par Raclots*. Fig. 2 tom. 12°. Brussel, 1699.

159 Eisenberg, *Thomas*. Letter No. 7. Letter from Bowle to Percy. Idmiston. 12 November 1778.

160 *Bibliotheca Steevensiana. A catalogue of the curious and valuable library of George Steevens, Esq., fellow of the Royal and Antiquary Societies, (lately deceased). Comprehending ... books, in classical, philological, historical, old English and general literature ... which will be sold by auction ... by Mr. King ... on Tuesday, May 13, 1800, and ten following days ...* ([London], Printed by J. Barker, [1800]), p. 34.

The mere fact of being a subscriber to Bowle's edition of *Don Quixote* obviously implied a certain interest in Spanish literature, as seen in the case of Steevens, who possessed many editions of the book. But perhaps nothing is comparable to the magnificent library of Bowle himself, which contained almost four hundred books in Spanish. These included three copies of the Tonson edition of *Don Quixote*, the Real Academia edition of 1780, bound in Morocco leather with raised bands; Cervantes' *Novelas exemplares* in two editions (the 1613 *princeps* and that of 1722); the *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617), the *Segunda parte de Don Quixote* (1615), along with another edition of 1668 and the edition of Madrid 1764; and the *Vida de Don Quixote* (1732) by Fernández de Avellaneda, among other writings on Cervantes.<sup>161</sup>

One of the ways in which Spanish books reached London was by being imported directly by the booksellers concerned, as made clear by some of the catalogues that are still available to us. Specific examples include the *Catalogue of books imported during the last four years* (1764) of P.A. de Hondt and Thomas Becket, two booksellers with premises on the Strand. This includes two books in Spanish; both of them by Cervantes. One is the *Vida y hechos del ingenioso Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Amsterdam-Leipzig, 1755), and the other is a two-volume edition of *Novelas exemplares de Miguel de Cervantes*, published in The Hague in 1739.<sup>162</sup>

As we have seen, correspondence was one of the main ways of facilitating the despatch of Spanish books to London. Letter-writing in the eighteenth century was not just confined to the sphere of private life; it was also the main vehicle of transmission for ideas and books, some of which originated in Spain. The London edition of Tonson's biography of Cervantes was in fact partly made possible by the epistolary relationship that Mayans maintained with his British correspondents. From that moment onwards, Mayans continued a practice that he had already established via his intellectual links between Valencia and places elsewhere in Europe, particularly Germany, of opening a line of collaboration conducive to his cultural purpose of disseminating Spanish culture in Britain.

This helps to explain why Mayans, following the death of Keene, rekindled his relationship with the new British ambassador, George William Hervey, the Earl of Bristol. Mayans arranged for works by Tosca and Corachán to be sent to him via his friend Victor de Comba, although he was met with rejection.<sup>163</sup>

161 *A catalogue of the library of the Rev. John Bowle, M.A.F.S.A. Late of Idmiston, near Salisbury, and Editor of Don Quixote in Spanish, with Notes and various Readings: with several other collections, containing the most valuable Books in every Language and Class of Learning.* ([London, s.n., 1790]).

162 *A Catalogue of books imported during the last four years, by T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, booksellers in the Strand* (London, 1764).

163 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", p. 321.

Mayans also maintained a correspondence with Lord George Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland and a lover of Spanish literature, who planned in 1755 to publish the *Cròniques* of Jaume I and Muntaner in Spanish and French. His better known correspondence with the aforementioned embassy chaplain, Edward Clarke, managed to interweave information on literary projects, the exchanging of books and reviews of authors.<sup>164</sup> The exchanging of books was also the main feature of Mayans' relationship with Louis de Visme, the British ambassador's secretary, in a correspondence that reveals the enthusiasm of an authentic English gentleman for antiques, literary classics and the history of Spain.<sup>165</sup>

Mayans continued to encourage such interest on the part of British intellectuals like William Duncan, a Scottish physician who had visited Valencia to meet Mayans personally and to whom he sent a translation of Jethro Tull's *An essay on the principles of tillage*, rendered into Spanish as *Tratado del cultivo de las tierras*, along with a gift copy of the Bible.<sup>166</sup> Possibly even more important was the correspondence between Mayans and Clarke's successor at the Embassy, Robert Darley Waddilove, as it came to involve another character of great importance to Spain, the historian William Robertson, whose *History of America* would have a great impact on the country.<sup>167</sup> Both Mayans and Waddilove therefore saw to it, with the Marquis of Almodovar as their intermediary, that Robertson would receive reference books and other information for use in his own work of history. This caused something of a stir, as it involved institutions like the Spanish Royal Academy of History and individuals such as the Valencian historian Juan Bautista Muñoz.<sup>168</sup>

However, the most important feature of this case, more than any controversy that it might have caused, was the fact that the relationship between Mayans and Waddilove resulted in a considerable flow to Scotland of news regarding, and books by, Spanish authors. As the British cultural attaché wrote to his Spanish correspondent in 1778:

I am somewhat curious, as are several of my friends, with a desire to use this time in Spain to obtain impressions of this country that are better than those contained in some of the books that claim to describe it.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", pp. 321–322.

<sup>165</sup> Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", pp. 323–325.

<sup>166</sup> Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", p. 326.

<sup>167</sup> M<sup>a</sup> Teresa Nava Rodríguez, "Robertson, Juan Bautista Muñoz y la Academia de la Historia", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, cuaderno III (1990), pp. 435–455.

<sup>168</sup> Nicolás Bas Martín, *El cosmógrafo e historiador Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745.1799)* (Valencia, Universitat de València, 2002).

<sup>169</sup> Antonio Mestre Sanchis, *Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, entre la erudición y la política* (Valencia, Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1999), pp. 3–21: "Yo soy un poco curioso

These details confirm how the diplomat's interest in Spanish culture was satisfied thanks to the invaluable collaboration of Mayans, who was always ready with information on manuscripts and printed sources obtained from the library of El Escorial, including the famous bibliographies of Nicolás Antonio, Rodríguez and Ximeno, among others.<sup>170</sup>

All this trade in books between Spain and the British Isles obviously made use of a network of intermediaries. Some of them, such as Mariano Reluz, were established in London, from where they engaged in the buying and selling of books. In his eagerness to publish Latin versions of the Spanish classics in England, he was able to count on the support of Mayans, who advised him to start with the unpublished works of Nicolás Antonio, García Matamoros and Juan Lucas Cortés, along with – among others – an advance version of his famous *Specimen bibliothecae Hispano-maiansianae* (1753), a venture that unfortunately failed.<sup>171</sup> Greater success seem to have resulted from efforts to distribute Mayans' works in London, where he enjoyed the support of Bernardo de Belluga, a diplomat at the Spanish embassy, who presented the Royal Society with copies of *Gramática*, *Métrica* and *Retórica*, for which thanks were delivered via the society's president, John Pringle.<sup>172</sup> Further works were likewise presented to Spain's commercial attaché in London, Francisco Escarano, and to a "learnèd Latin", while the copies of the last two of Mayans' above-mentioned works found their way to a bookseller on the Strand. Belluga expressed to perfection, in a letter dated 1778, the exact nature of his mission:

It is just that they should know of our works here, and I should like the British public to gain some advantage from Spanish literature, such as we do from its English counterpart.<sup>173</sup>

It remains to be seen if Belluga's intention to disseminate Mayans' works in London corresponded to actual reality, as this requires an analysis of the corresponding booksellers' catalogues. But there are already some clues to start us on our way. One of these is provided by the famous London bookseller and publisher Robert Dodsley who worked in the capital between 1738 and 1775,

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y algunos de mis amigos también, y quieren aprovechar de mi residencia en España para obtener mejores luces de este país de (las) que se hallan en algunos libros que presumen haber hecho su descripción".

170 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", pp. 326–329.

171 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", pp. 332–333.

172 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", p. 334.

173 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", p. 334: "Es justo que conozcan aquí nuestras obras, y deseo que al público inglés resulten algunas ventajas de la literatura española, puesto que a nosotros nos resultan tantas de la inglesa".

publishing such emblematic authors as Edmund Burke, Johnson and Swift, among others. He is best known for being one of the editors of the famous *Gentleman's Magazine*, and his name is associated with more than six hundred literary works, including the 1772 edition of Richard Graves' *The Spiritual Quixote*.<sup>174</sup> His rich correspondence only includes one mention of a Spanish book however, namely *Tratado de cortesía, y política que se husa en toda la Europa* (Amsterdam, 1726), which he asked Solomon Mendes to buy on his behalf in a letter dated 8 November 1744. Meanwhile, a Scottish merchant named David Steuart, who had travelled to Spain in the 1770s when Mayans' fame was at its height in Europe, accumulated a magnificent collection of Spanish books, which he was then compelled to auction as a result of a seizure of assets. This specifically affected almost 150 books of the total of approximately one thousand that constituted his personal library. With its clear predominance of literature from the Spanish Golden Age, particularly works by Cervantes, the eighteenth century was only represented with works by Feijoo, Ponz, Jorge Juan and Ulloa, along with works published by Bodoni in the 1700s, but without even a trace of Mayans.<sup>175</sup> It was therefore ironic that part of Mayans' library would end up being sold in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by which time the craze for Spanish literature had soared to new heights.

This does not in any way detract from the fact that Mayans' works were appreciated by British intellectuals, and could therefore be found in the libraries of several of them. Such was the case with Baron Talbot Dillon, who was "favoured by both brothers [Juan Antonio and Gregorio Mayans] and presented with the most precious books, which I believe to be the most select of my library, and am currently reading".<sup>176</sup> The dissemination of Mayans' works in London was nevertheless narrowly limited to the civil servants at the embassy, and his name was not heard much outside the book trade or therefore among the reading public. This was probably due to the fact that his works, though critical and reformist in nature, created a public impression of the classical humanism that Hanoverian Britain abandoned in favour of the Enlightenment.

The example of Mayans, who was one of Spain's most remarkable intellectuals, clearly shows the lack of interest on the part of the British for the Spanish literature of the eighteenth century in particular. Just a few names, such as Feijoo, Ponz or Jorge Juan, stand out in this respect. This is something which,

174 James E. Tierney (ed.), *The correspondence of Robert Dodsley 1733–1764* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 297.

175 Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, "Los libros españoles del comerciante escocés David Steuart", *Revista de Literatura*, Tomo LXII, n.º 123 (enero-junio de 2000), pp. 205–237.

176 Bolufer, "Los intelectuales", p. 336.

as we shall see, the auction catalogues help to clarify. Feijoo is precisely one of the few intellectuals whose works relate the presence of the British in Spain and their interest in the country's literature. He makes specific reference to the presence of an Englishman in Madrid in 1727, who spent fifty doubloons (thirty guineas) on a copy of Antonio Agustín's *Diálogos de medallas, inscripciones, y otras antigüedades* (Tarragona, 1587), a classic on the subject of antiquities which was so popular with British readers.<sup>177</sup> Giral de Pino, for his part, only mentions a single eighteenth-century Spanish author in his *New Spanish Grammar* (London, 1766): Feijoo. When responding to the question in the bilingual part of the book "Which poets' work would you wish to buy?" he replied "Virgil in Latin, Calderón's comedies, and Feijoo's plays".<sup>178</sup>

### 2.3 Between the Strand and Grub Street: London's World of Books

Any analysis of the book trade of eighteenth-century London inevitably invites comparisons with the other great publishing centre of Europe: Paris. Indeed both capitals dominated publishing in their respective countries, as the booksellers concerned enjoyed monopolies and privileges that did not apply to their provincial counterparts. This is something which, in the French case, encouraged the appearance of pirate editions. The booksellers of London were meanwhile intent on possessing the copyrights that would protect them from such piracy, and created a booksellers' lobby whose members, including the Tonson brothers (who printed the first biography of Cervantes), were known as "congers".<sup>179</sup> A prominent group of London booksellers was thus able to maintain control of two of the three key elements of the publishing market: copyright and distribution.<sup>180</sup> Only the physical production of the books concerned escaped them.

Both cities likewise had their respective organisations dedicated to the elite of the publishing world: the *Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie* in Paris and its London counterpart, the Stationers' Company. Membership of these entities

177 Nigel Glendinning, "Spanish books in England: 1800–1850", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 3(1) (1959), p. 70.

178 Joseph Giral del Pino, *A new Spanish Grammar; or, the elements of the Spanish language* (London, printed for J. Nourse, 1766), pp. 339–340.

179 Terry Belanger, "Publishers and writers in eighteenth-century England", in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and their readers in Eighteenth-century England* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 13.

180 John Feather, *The provincial book trade in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 3.

encouraged the formation of a professional “caste”, which inherited, almost as if they were noble titles, the positions and privileges of the previous generation. They attracted, in their function as censors and controlling agencies of the publishing trade, a large number of booksellers; some of whom sought corporate protection, while others came in search of privileges.

The physical layout of the City of London, like that of Paris, made it possible for two sides of the book trade – the booksellers and the “official” printers – to coexist. They were all to be found in the streets and districts that housed the main institutions; and also, in the case of the underworld of “hack writers of novellas, dictionaries and second-rate verse”, in more peripheral locations such as London’s Grub Street.<sup>181</sup> The type of literature available in each place differed greatly. While the more-centrally located bookshops stocked works of reference and erudition, their street-vendor counterparts tended to deal more in pamphlets, tracts, ballads, single-sided articles and writings of lower quality, in both literary and material terms. Spanish literature was of course distributed in London, as we shall see, via both the highbrow channel and its downmarket equivalent. It is sufficient to mention at this stage that an examination of the Spanish section of the British Library reveals how its origins lie in donations by figures such as George II, dating from 1757, or the Rev Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, from 1799. Many of the items present are Spanish poems and ballads that are more characteristic of popular literature.<sup>182</sup>

Furthermore, the book trade in both Paris and London was characterised in the early part of the eighteenth century by a large number of book auctions. These were held, in London’s case, at well-known houses such as Sotheby’s and Christie’s, among others; or in the actual home of the collector concerned, or on the premises of the bookseller organising the sale. In this manner, the period between 1718 and 1768 saw the publication of the greatest number of book-sale catalogues in London. This responded in part to a substantial increase in the capital city’s population, and therefore in the number of readers and collectors. However, the interest in rare books did not reach its high-point until the mid-1700s. It is associated with bookshops like that of Thomas Osborne in Gray’s Inn.

This world is summed up perfectly by an engraving entitled “The Compleat Auctioneer” (of approx. 1700), now preserved in the British Museum, in which we see a bookseller at his stall, surrounded by English ladies, a gentleman

181 Boswell, *Vida de Samuel Johnson*, p. 273. A quotation from Johnson’s *Dictionary of English Language* (1755) used to define Grub Street.

182 H.G. Whitehead, *Eighteenth-century Spanish chapbooks in the British Library* (London, The British Library, 1997). This is a supplement to the *Short-title Catalogue of Eighteenth-century Spanish books in the British Library* (London, The British Library, 1994).



and a lower-class individual. A notice fixed to the tree behind the stallholder announces an auction of books. It indicates the possibility of consulting the corresponding catalogue in the bookshops of Moorfields, which was then a frequent venue of such sales and auctions. The corresponding list of books includes, as the text at the bottom of the image confirms, two Spanish works in particular: Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and Quevedo's *Fortune in her Wits*.

Certain places, like Moorfields in this case, added a certain zest to the cultural life of London. Indeed the demographic and economic ascent of the city paralleled its cultural development. This manifested itself in the enormous numbers of periodicals, cultural events, performances and art auctions; and also in London's bookshops. The total of fifty such establishments in the year 1760 had tripled by 1785. Supply responded to a demand that was increasingly interested in things cultural. When it came to books, the enthusiasm of English and British collectors already had a long tradition that dated back to Pepys and his contemporaries, whose magnificent collections accumulated in the late seventeenth century went on to enrich the university libraries of both Oxford and Cambridge. With the eighteenth century now under way, a prominent generation of book collectors, the like of which had never been seen before, was busily adding reference material to the city's main cultural institutions; initially the British Museum and then the British Library.

Samuel Johnson said that anyone with intellectual inclinations would be shocked by a city like London, which was able to offer "the whole of human life in all its variety".<sup>183</sup> And he was not far wrong, for the city was indeed full of bookshops. These ranged from the "booksellers of antient books in all languages" of Paternoster Row, where more than forty printers were based;<sup>184</sup> and the Strand, with its more than eighty printers and bookshops; to places like Fleet Street, which was home to some eighty printers, including a bookseller named Benjamin White, who stocked Spanish books, and Little Britain, where some of London's best bookshops were located.<sup>185</sup> The bookshops around St Paul's Cathedral and Paternoster Row enjoyed something of a surge in the 1700s, at the cost of the decline of formerly important areas such as London Bridge and Little Britain.<sup>186</sup> It was precisely this last enclave that was home to the premises of

183 Boswell, *Vida de Samuel Johnson*, Letter from Johnson to James Boswell. July 1763. p. 390.

184 James Raven, "London and the central sites of the English book trade", in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the book in Britain*. Vol. v. 1695–1830 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 295.

185 Ian Maxted, *The London Book trades 1775–1800: a topographical guide* (Exeter, Printed and sold by the Author, 1980), p. 10.

186 James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of printing and publishing in London before 1800* (London, British Library, 2014), p. 31.



FIGURE 14 *The Compleat Auctioneer* (approx. 1700), selling Cervantes' "Don Quixote" and a work by Quevedo. The British Museum. c. 1700. No. 1851,0308.20.

booksellers like Thomas Ballard, whose catalogue included Spanish books, and Aaron Ward, who established himself in Hatchet Alley in 1720. The latter was known for his publication of religious books and sermons, but also for literary works such as his elegant 1725 edition of Cervantes' *The history of the valorous and witty knight-errant Don Quixote of the Mancha*.<sup>187</sup>

Some of these bookshops stood out more than others, as was the case with James Lackington, whose celebrated book emporium *The Temple of the Muses*, which was established in 1793, offered a catalogue containing some 200,000 volumes.<sup>188</sup> Anyone visiting this shop was highly likely to find at least some Spanish books. Lackington did indeed take pride in his knowledge of the most prominent European novels, including the works of Cervantes.<sup>189</sup> This helps explain why the title page of his catalogue should show Smollett's translation of *Don Quixote*, which – the London bookseller boasted – was one of his latest acquisitions. Other items in this bulky catalogue include Nicolás Antonio's *Censura de Historias Fabulosas* (1742) and Tonson's 1738 edition of *Don Quixote*. These are the most significant works among a total of some seventy books from Spain; mainly from the seventeenth century and concerned with religion.

The subject of history also occupied an important place in both Lackington's catalogue and British society of the day, particularly among gentlemen and men of business. This was the first time that history had become a commercial enterprise, and this is reflected in the corresponding book catalogues. Works that stand out in this respect include a Spanish-themed book by the above-mentioned Scottish author William Robertson, specifically his *History of the reign of the emperor Charles v* (1769), which would become the first commercial success in the field of British history of philosophy. The work was published, as was the custom of the day, by a consortium of booksellers, formed in this case by William Strahan and Thomas Cadell of London, along with John Balfour of Edinburgh.<sup>190</sup>

The London book business was in fact highly specialised, to the extent that there were booksellers specialised in new works and others who were dedicated to rare books, along with purveyors of religious works like "bibles, common

187 Raven, *Bookscape*, p. 90.

188 James Raven, *The business of books. Booksellers and the English book trade. 1450–1850* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2007), p. 289.

189 Allen & Cos. Lackington, *Catalogue, volume the first, Michaelmas, 1796, to September, 1797, consisting of above 200,000 volumes, in various languages, and on every branch of useful and polite literature*. By Lackington, Allen, & Co ([London, 1796]).

190 Karen O'Brien, "The history market in eighteenth-century England", in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and their readers in Eighteenth-century England: new essays* (New York, Leicester University Press, 2001), p. 107.

prayers, almanacks”, and those who concentrated on “foreign books”.<sup>191</sup> *The Lamb* on the Strand was home to a concentration of booksellers associated with works from abroad. Although the London trade underestimated the role of imported books, thereby giving more importance to its home market of works in English, it definitely did not neglect the acquisition by booksellers and collectors of foreign books as a way of completing their vast collections. Several prominent traders dealt with this part of the market. They included Paul and Isaac Vaillant of the now-famous Strand (around 1750); Peter Elmsley; Oliver and Thomas Payne of Horace’s Head (around 1739); and John Nourse, who likewise occupied premises on the Strand between 1731 and 1780.<sup>192</sup> They were all book importers who took advantage of the best years of the European book trade (i.e. around the 1760s) to bring their wares, including Spanish books, to London. About 70% of these items were new books, while the rest were older works. The catalogue of a bookseller named Nourse, which dates from precisely this time, contains the following Spanish books:<sup>193</sup>

- Pedro Pineda. *Las ciudades, Iglesias y conventos en España*. 8°.
- Pedro Pineda. *Facil, y corto methodo, o introducion para aprehender los rudimentos de la lengua castellana*. 12°.
- Cervantes. *Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*. 4 v. 4°.

A large proportion of these books came from the Netherlands, where the London booksellers had established regional agents. Some of the booksellers concerned, like the above-mentioned Nourse, also travelled frequently to the area. In fact, the Dutch market was to become one of the main shop windows of the British book trade.<sup>194</sup> Back in England, the country’s booksellers could buy manuscripts, printed editions and authorship rights, and also pay for translations and future editions of, among other items, Spanish books.<sup>195</sup> We know, for example, that some of them maintained close relationships with booksellers Peter Gosse and Luchtmans, of the Hague and Leiden respectively.

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191 Raven, *The business*, p. 136.

192 Raven, *The business*, p. 143.

193 *Books printed for and sold by J. Nourse, at the King’s Arms, opposite Catherine-Street, in the Strand, London, bookseller to his Majesty* ([London, 1773–1780]).

194 Giles Barber, “Book imports and exports in the Eighteenth Century”, in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (ed.), *Sale and distribution of books from 1700* (Oxford, Publishing Pathways, 1982), p. 87.

195 John Featherm, “John Nourse and his authors”, *Studies in Bibliography*, 34 (1981), p. 217.

Evidence of some of these transactions can be found in the periodical press, in which advertisements inform us of the time elapsed between the publication of a book and its arrival at its final destination, in the shape of a bookseller or auction house. This is likewise confirmed by auctions such as those held by Samuel Baker and George Leigh, who went on to be known as Sotheby's.<sup>196</sup> An analysis of these sources reveals that a large part of the books concerned came from the Netherlands, which served as a clearing house for shipments from France, Spain and other countries. It was to here that the agents of Britain's greatest bibliophiles and booksellers came, on the hunt for the best books available.

Auction sales organised by Leigh and Sotheby's did include various Spanish books, among them – from the collection of the reverend Egerton Leigh – a *Biblia espanyola* of 1569, better known as the “Bear Bible”, which went on sale in 1782.<sup>197</sup> The same year also saw the sale of the book collection of Thomas Wilbraham, a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. This included Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del Reyno Inglaterra* (of 1588) and two works by Cervantes: *Novelas exemplares* (of 1615) and the 1662 edition of *Don Quixote*.<sup>198</sup>

Most of these items subsequently appeared in catalogues, and also at auctions, which generally attracted a more-specialised audience. The busy coffee houses were more accessible in this respect. Some of them functioned just like bookshops, and it was possible to find such items as *The Liturgy, according to Spanish and Portuguese jews* (1773), which was sold “at Sam's Coffee House, near the Great Synagogue, near Aldgate”.<sup>199</sup> London's Jews could rely in this

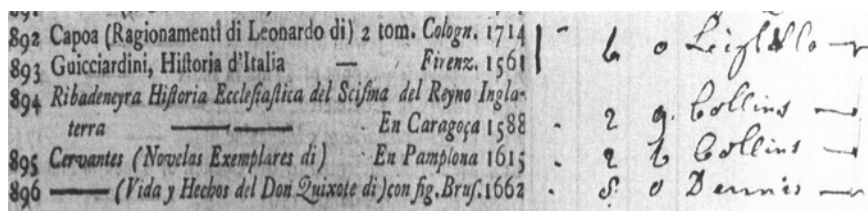


FIGURE 15 Spanish books sold at auction in 1782 by Leigh and Sotheby's. BL. Catalogue of the curious and valuable Library of Thomas Wilbraham ... which will be sold by auction, by Leigh and Sotheby [London, 1782].

- 196 James Raven, “Investing in books. The supremacy of the booksellers”, in Eleanor F. Shevlin (ed.), *The history of the book in the West: 1700–1800*. Vol. III (Surrey-Burlington, Ashgate, 2011), p. 277.
- 197 *A Catalogue of the valuable library of the Rev. Egerton Leigh* ([London, 1782]).
- 198 *Catalogue of the curious and valuable library of Thomas Wilbraham, M.D* ([London, 1782]).
- 199 Suarez, *The Cambridge History of the Book*, p. 21.

respect on the support of the city's Spanish Sephardic community, which printed sermons, calendars and polemic works, many of them likely to be destined for export to Belgium and the Netherlands. They were in turn served by London printers such as James Dover of Tower Hill and Thomas Ilive of Aldersgate Road.<sup>200</sup> The former was responsible for printing some of the sermons of a Spanish rabbi named David Nieto;<sup>201</sup> while Ilive printed another of Nieto's sermons from 1714, "by licence of the gentleman of *Mahamad*".<sup>202</sup>

Another system that came to be used by the booksellers outside the remit of the catalogues centred on so-called "printed proposals", or lists of the latest books available.<sup>203</sup> These were first used by booksellers like Thomas Payne and Daniel Browne.

It was not difficult to find in London, alongside the book auctions, the previously mentioned circulating libraries specialising in newly published literature, such as the famous establishment of Francis Noble in Covent Garden; or the book clubs and subscription libraries, which tended to sell pamphlets and other, more ephemeral, printed items. This abundance of places dedicated to the lending of, or free access to, books can be explained by the high price of novels, which made them affordable only to wealthy merchants and members of the professional classes and above.<sup>204</sup> London of 1760 thus had around two score circulating libraries; a number which had grown to almost two hundred by the end of the century. The presence of anything Spanish in such places tended to be scarce, as with other cultural manifestations like painting or the theatre, where such interest was almost totally limited to works from the Golden Age.<sup>205</sup>

200 Barry Taylor, "Un-Spanish practices. Spanish and Portuguese protestants, jews and liberals, 1500–1900", in Barry Taylor (ed.), *Foreign-language printing in London 1500–1900* (London-Boston, The British Library, 2002), p. 188.

201 María del Carmen Artigas, *Segunda antología sefardí: continuidad cultural (1600–1730)* (Madrid, Verbum, 2005), p. 222. It includes some of these sermons by David Nieto under the title "Decisión del doctísimo y Excelentísimo señor H.H.R. Zeví Asquenazí con su *Bet Din* sobre el problema si naturaleza y Dios, y Dios y naturaleza es todo uno. Según lo predicó el señor H.H.R. David Nieto en el K.K. de Londres. En 23 de *Kislev* 5464 [1704]. Elul 5465 [1705] (En Londres: Por James Dover, en Tower-Hill)".

202 Carmen Artigas, *Segunda antología*, p. 237.

203 James Raven, "The book as a commodity", in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the book in Britain. Vol. v. 1695–1830* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 108.

204 James Van Horn Melton, *La aparición del público durante la Ilustración europea* (Valencia, Universitat de València, 2009), pp. 137–139.

205 John Brewer, *The pleasures of imagination. English culture in the Eighteenth century* (London and New York, Routledge, 2013). See chapter: "The market and the Academy",

There were certain London publishing houses specialised in novels, like the Minerva Press, founded by a bookseller named William Lane in 1770, which supplied books to the circulating libraries. Lane's General and Encreasing Circulating Library, which offered some ten thousand books, seems to have held but one example of literature relating to Spain, in the shape of *Zayde, a Spanish history*, originally written in French by a Monsieur de Segrays and printed in London in 1780.<sup>206</sup>

#### 2.4 The Collecting of Spanish Books in London: The Bibliophiles

In his famous *Bibliomania*, the English bibliographer Thomas Dibdin lists the works likely to form an ideal cabinet of books. The discussion takes the form of a dialogue between two characters, Lysander and Philemon, with the latter standing in for Dibdin himself, who had previously managed to acquaint himself with one of the best private libraries of the eighteenth century, that of George Spencer, 3rd Earl Spencer, in Althorp. The library's catalogue accordingly bears the signature of Dibdin. Its stock of items from Spain included an edition of *Etymologiarum libri xx* by St. Isidore of Seville, with no indication of the date or place of printing;<sup>207</sup> and a *Missale mozárabe* printed in Toledo in 1500, which was, according to Dibdin, one of the rarest works "in the whole Harleian collection". Another rare book in the collection was the *Biblia Políglota Complutense*, likewise in the words of Dibdin: "the present is undoubtedly among the most beautiful and perfect copies of it, upon paper, that can be seen".<sup>208</sup>

Although it was published at the beginning of the nineteenth century (in 1809), Dibdin's work manages to express well the spirit that inspired many British bibliophiles and collectors of the previous hundred years. It stands out among the key bibliographies that were published in Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to provide a record of what books were being sold. There were of course mentions of Spanish items in this respect. These included works by the Bishop of Tortosa, Juan Bautista

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pp. 167–203; cap. "The Georgian stage", pp. 261–286; "The theatre, power and commerce", pp. 287–307.

206 Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (London, The Bibliographical Society-Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 133.

207 Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana; or a descriptive Catalogue of the books printed in the fifteenth century and of many valuable first editions, in the library of George John Earl Spencer* (London, printed for the author, 1814), pp. 71–72.

208 Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, p. 74.

Cardona and, naturally, Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana*, "the first, and the best, bibliographical work which Spain, notwithstanding her fine palaces and libraries, has ever produced".<sup>209</sup> The use of such bibliographic records allowed British collectors, as Dibdin mentions, to acquire a much better knowledge of the material aspect of the subject of bibliography, which was then in vogue in the English-speaking world as a basic tool for studying the nature of the rare and curious books, incunables and first editions that these collectors so admired.

Dibdin does not neglect to mention, in his descriptions of the world of the British collectors, those who possessed Spanish books. He cites, among others, Anthony Collins, whose collection of nearly seven thousand books was sold in 1730; along with that of Martin Folkes, sold in 1756, which included the following items:

In Spanish literature, *The History of South America*, by Don Juan and Ant. di Ulloa, Madr., fol. in 5 vols., was sold for 5 l.: a fine large paper copy of the description of the monastery of St. Lorenzo, and the Escorial, Madr., 1657, brought 1 l. 2 s.; de Lastanosa's *Spanish medals*, Huesca, fol., 1645, 2 l. 2 s.<sup>210</sup>

Folkes' collection was sold by Samuel Baker, whose bookshop in Covent Garden held one of the biggest stocks of Spanish books in London. The sale of the book collection of this former president of the Royal Society and recognised numismatist must have been a cultural event of the first order. The auction went on for forty days, which shows the importance of the items being dispersed. As was usual at sales and auctions of the time, the items concerned would be divided by sale date and then further classified by size. The corresponding Spanish books in octavo format thus include various works by Cervantes dated 1709, along with *Novelas exemplares* (1617), a 1662 Brussels edition of *Vidas y hechos de Don Quixote*, Cervantes' *Vida del Don Quixote* (1697), *Obras y relaciones* (1634) by Antonio Pérez, *Obras de Virgilio* (1601), translated by Diego López; *Discursos de la religión de los antiguos romanos y griegos* (1579), and Mayans' *Orígenes de la lengua española* (1737); a quarto edition of *Vidas y hechos de Don Quixote* (1719), the *Biblia espannol* of 1569 (i.e. Casiodoro de la Reina's "Bear Bible"); Alderete's *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana* (1606), Sobrino's famous *Diccionario español francés* (1721) and *Armas i linages de la nobleza de España* (1734) by Antonio Agustín; along with a folio

<sup>209</sup> Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliomania, or book madness; a bibliographical romance* (London, Henry G. Boon, 1842), p. 42.

<sup>210</sup> Dibdin, *The Bibliomania*, p. 367.



edition of Mariana's *Historia de España* (which had by then become a classic), *Explicación de unas monedas de oro de emperadores romanos* (1620) by Juan de Quiñones, the magnificent *Relacion histórica del viage a la America meridional* (1748) by Jorge Juan y Ulloa, and the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1726) of the Spanish Academy.<sup>211</sup>

Given that Folkes possessed one of the greatest coin collections in Britain, various works concerning numismatics were naturally on the list. The more outstanding items in this respect included the works of Antonio Agustín, Lastanosa's *Museo de las medallas* (1645) and *Explicación de unas monedas de oro de emperadores romanos* (1620) by Juan de Benavente de Quiñones.<sup>212</sup>

One thing that draws our attention to Folkes' collection is the price that was fetched by the Spanish books in relation to the other items sold. The catalogue in question contains handwritten entries showing the selling prices of each book, which are markedly high. There is also a noticeable predominance of Spanish literary and historical works, while other genres such as science are barely present. This is somewhat surprising, considering they belonged to such an outstanding member of the Royal Society.

Folkes is followed, in the list of collectors cited by Dibdin, by the library of General Dormer; sold in 1744, it contained a first edition of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605), accompanied by a note that read "Cecy est l'edition originale; il y a une autre du mesme annee, imprimee en quarto a Madrid, mais imprimee apres cecy. J'ay veu l'autre, et je les ay comparez avec deux autres editions du mesme année, 1605; une imprimee a Lisbonne, en 4to., l'autre en Valentia, en 8vo".<sup>213</sup> The collection of Thomas Crofts, a bibliophile and fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, which was sold in Covent Garden in 1783, included various Spanish works. As stated in the preface to the catalogue, Crofts was proud to be the owner of various magnificent Spanish editions, including a copy of *Tirant lo Blanch* (Barcelona, 1497), which we know was previously acquired for 17 guineas by the Portuguese ambassador to London, Pinto da Sousa, at an auction organised by a London bookseller named Samuel Paterson.<sup>214</sup>

211 *A Catalogue of the entire and valuable library of Martin Folkes, Esq ... which will be sold by auction by Samuel Baker* ([London, 1756]).

212 George Kolbe, "Godfather to all Monkeys: Martin Folkes and his 1756 Library Sales", *The Asylum*, Vol. 32, n° 2 (April-June 2014), pp. 52–53.

213 Dibdin, *The Bibliomania*, p. 375. "This is the original edition; there is another of the same year, from Madrid and in quarto format, but it was printed after this. I have seen them, and have compared them to another two editions of the same year, 1605; a quarto edition printed in Lisbon, and another in Valencia, in octavo".

214 William Noblett, "Samuel Paterson and the London Auction Market for Second-Hand Books 1755–1802", *The papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 180(2) (2014), p. 154.

This exceedingly rare Spanish edition<sup>215</sup> from Crofts' collection was accompanied by a set of more than six hundred theatrical pieces, and "the original pieces of De Las Casas".<sup>216</sup> Further works in this respect included grammar books like Mayans' *Orígenes de la lengua española* (1737), the *Diccionario* and *Ortografía* (1763) of the Academy; an edition of the poems of Ausias March from the end of the sixteenth century, and various works by Lope de Vega, Garcilaso and Quevedo. The novels in the collection included a good number of chivalric romances, almost all second editions, among them *Amadís de Gaula* (1519), *Palmerín de Oliva* (1526), and *Primaleón* (1528); along with picaresque works like *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1604), *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1600) and *Estevanillo González* (1645); and of course an important set of the works of Cervantes, including the first Mey edition of *Don Quixote*, published in Valencia in 1605. Examples of Spanish theatre in Crofts' collection included various works by Calderon and several editions of *Celestina*. Finally, the historical section could not be complete without a copy of Mariana's *Historia de España*, along with significant names, for the history of Spain and Valencia, like Florián de Ocampo, Garibay, Zurita, Beuter, Escolano and Bleda.

The Spanish items from Crofts' library reveal a number of factors which, although open to interpretation, imply a common trend characteristic of many British book collections of the time. One of these is the marked enthusiasm for books shown by individual members of the Royal Society and, in particular, the Antiquarian Society. The case of Crofts stands out in this context, and is associated with other major collectors such as the 2nd Duke of Devonshire, the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, the Earl of Leicester, the 8th Earl of Pembroke, the Duke of Roxburghe and both the first and second Earls of Oxford, who showed an unprecedented enthusiasm for the world of antiquities, expressed – in terms of books – in their love of incunables and other early printed works.<sup>217</sup> Evidence

215 Susana Camps i Perarnau, *Diego de Gumiel, impressor del "Tirant lo Blanch" (1497) i del "Tirante el Blanco" (1511)*. Tesis Doctoral inédita. Leída en 2008 en la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Facultat de Traducció i Interpretació. Dpto. de Traducció i Interpretació, p. 267. The only surviving copy of this edition is held by the Hispanic Society of America in New York. It had previously been held (logically, as its then most recent buyer had been Sousa) by the Municipal Library of Oporto, from where it was taken in 1859, destined for Lisbon. It was then loaned to a Madrid banker named José de Salamanca, but it never returned to Oporto, as Salamanca's collection was sold in 1887. His *Tirant* was acquired by Quaritch's bookshop in London, which sold it to Archer M. Huntington.

216 *Bibliotheca Croftsiana. A Catalogue of the curious and distinguished Library of the late reverend and learned Thomas Crofts* ([London, Samuel Paterson, 1783]), p. vii.

217 Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the antiquarian book. Reshaping the past, 1780–1815* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 68.

of this can be found in the fact that a good part of the auctions held in London in this period (i.e. around 1799) were dominated by the sale of incunables, which fetched prices that were astronomical for the time.<sup>218</sup>

This did not escape the attention of Samuel Paterson, the bookseller in charge of the disposal of Crofts' book collection, who also ran an auction house called West's Library. Recognised for his knowledge of rare books, he was the first bookseller to classify each item as a separate lot in his *Bibliotheca universalis selecta* (1786), a list of European books imported for sale.<sup>219</sup> The list of books brought in from Germany and Holland, as the catalogue states, included about thirty Spanish items, classified into three groups: Spanish novels, Spanish theatre, and history of Spain.<sup>220</sup> The "novels" group could of course not miss out works by Cervantes, who was represented by copies of *Las Novelas ejemplares* and *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, accompanied by two editions of *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Works of drama included various editions of *La Celestina* (1595 and 1599), and the plays of Calderón and Lope de Vega. They were all printed outside Spain; chiefly in Antwerp, where Paterson the bookseller had a branch. Finally, and in the history section, the books that stand out relate to the exploits of Charles V and Philip II respectively; mainly in editions dating from the seventeenth century.

This interest on the part of Paterson the bookseller in the Spanish Golden Age faithfully reflected the market to which his efforts were addressed: that of British collectors. The previously mentioned Crofts collection is a good example of this. Paterson was in charge of the sale of the approximately three hundred Spanish books involved, of which only 27 (i.e. barely 10% of the total) were from the eighteenth century. The size of the Spanish collection was extraordinary, but it nevertheless leant heavily towards the Baroque. The question that inevitably arises is: "How were all these books acquired?" The answer is dealt with in detail below, but it is sufficient to say that London had a network of booksellers specialised in foreign literature, some of which was Spanish. On other occasions, seventeenth-century collectors like Thomas Bodley (the creator of Oxford's celebrated Bodleian Library) "sent over men on

218 James Raven, "Debating Bibliomania and the collection of books in the Eighteenth Century", *Library & Information History*, vol.29, no.3 (September 2013), p. 201.

219 Richard Landon, "Collecting and the antiquarian book trade", in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the book in Britain. Vol. v. 1695–1830* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 714.

220 *Bibliotheca Universalis Selecta. a Catalogue of books, ancient and modern, in various languages and faculties, and upon almost every branch of science and polite literature* ([London, 1786]).

purpose to buy books in France, Italy, Spain and Germany”,<sup>221</sup> referring to the agents involved.

Returning for a moment to the subject of the antiquarians, Dibdin's book mentions two collectors who likewise possessed Spanish books. One of these was Joseph Ritson, who acquired a six-volume edition of *Biblia Polígloa Complutense* (1516) along with an extraordinary collection of Spanish romances,<sup>222</sup> some of which were published in 1782 under the title *Fabularum romanensium bibliotheca: a general catalogue of old romances, French, Italian, Spanish and English*.<sup>223</sup> The book collection of a fellow antiquarian named Benjamin Heath included a classic work of Spanish bibliography in the shape of Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana*.<sup>224</sup> This also applied to Michael Lort's book collection, sold at Sotheby's in 1791, which included such bibliographical jewels as a 1614 edition of Aldrete's *Varias antigüedades de España, y otras provincias*, accompanied by a note that read “One of the most valuable books of this kind in the Spanish language, and very rarely to be met with”;<sup>225</sup> a justified comment, given that it was both a rare book and a prized first edition. None of this should be surprising, as one of the symptoms of the feverish enthusiasm that affected British book collectors of the eighteenth century was a notable keenness to possess first editions.

Indeed Dibdin himself recounted a curious anecdote on the extent to which this passion for books could go. It concerns a bibliographer named Isaac Gossett, who advised various important collectors, including Richard Heber. After almost completing his convalescence from an illness, he marched urgently off to the auction rooms of Pinelli in London to examine “one copy of the Complutensian Polyglot on vellum, and clad in the original binding”.

Dibdin's passion for rare and curious books was not limited to his *Bibliomania*, but continued in works like *The Library Companion* (1824), in which he attempted to provide a guide for any department of literature; full of anecdotes about the world of books. One of its chapters, entitled “History of Spain”, included details of Britain's most important collections of Spanish literature. These included the library of Lady Holland, and also that of Francis Freeling, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, who possessed a copy of

221 John Macky, *A journey through England. In familiar letters from a gentleman here, to his friend abroad*. Vol. II (London, Printed for J. Pemberton, 1724), p. 69.

222 Dibdin, *The Bibliomania*, p. 318.

223 Joseph Haslewood, *Some account of the life and publications of the late Joseph Ritson, Esq.* (London, Printed for Robert Triphook, 1824), pp. 34–35.

224 Dibdin, *The Bibliomania*, p. 559.

225 Dibdin, *The Bibliomania*, p. 412.

*Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus et Nova* by Nicolás Antonio, printed on “large paper, bound in red morocco”.<sup>226</sup>

The most notable collection of this type was that of the nobleman Robert Harley, which came to be known as the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*. Harley, who was a minister to the court of Queen Anne, managed to accumulate an extraordinary collection of more than six thousand manuscripts and approximately forty thousand printed books. It would not have been possible to create this library without the support of John Bagford, who was one of London's most important booksellers of the day. Bagford did not just expand Harley's book collection, but also that of the extraordinary bibliophile Hans Sloane, whose library, along with that of Harley, was the founding basis of the British Library.<sup>227</sup> Bagford became the focus of a group of various important collectors and librarians of the day, such as the antiquarian Thomas Hearne, who was in charge of the Bodleian library in Oxford, who in turn supplied another of the great British collectors, Thomas Rawlinson.<sup>228</sup> As a bookseller without premises of his own, Bagford was known as a “book runner”, and supplied the main shops and auction houses.<sup>229</sup>

Another member of the above group was an antiquarian called Thomas Baker, who was also the librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge. He became the agent of major British bibliophiles such as Harley, the previously mentioned Rawlinson, Hearne and Bagford, among others. His personal collection of some five thousand books included several Spanish works, among them *De insulis nuper inventis* (1532) by Hernando Cortés, Antonio de Guevara's *Aureo libro di Marco Aurelio* (1560), the *Opera* (1617) of Ramon Llull, *Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societatis Jesu Catalogus* (1609) by Pedro de Ribadeneira and *Minerva, seu de causis linguae latinae commentarius* (1702) by Francisco Sánchez of Salamanca.

This period saw the formation of a tight-knit network of booksellers, collectors and librarians headed by Hearne, Bagford, Rawlinson and Sloane, which handled some of the best antiquarian books then circulating in Europe, including several Spanish works. Good evidence of this is provided by Hearne's collection, which did in fact include, despite its lack of Spanish content in

226 Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Library Companion, or, The young man's guide and the old man's comfort, in the choice of a library* (London, 1824), p. 301.

227 Margaret Nickson, “Bagford and Sloane”, *British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), pp. 51–55.

228 Milton M. Gatch, “John Bagford, bookseller and antiquary”, *British Library Journal*, 12 (1986), p. 150.

229 T.A. Birrell, “Anthony Wood, John Bagford and Thomas Hearne as bibliographers”, in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (ed.), *Pioneers in Bibliography* (Winchester, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1988), p. 29.

terms of either quantity or quality, a selection of historical works headed by Mariana's *Historia de España*.<sup>230</sup> Bagford meanwhile formed a professional relationship with a group of prominent London booksellers that included Christopher Bateman, John Murray and John Bullord, who constantly travelled to Amsterdam, as did Bagford himself on numerous occasions, to replenish their supplies of books.<sup>231</sup>

It is highly likely that these consignments of books from the Netherlands included certain Spanish works destined to end up in the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*, which contained an edition of *Quichotte* printed in Paris in 1799, along with *Tácito español* (1614) by Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos.<sup>232</sup> The Spanish manuscripts in the collection included the *Etymologiae* of St Isidore of Seville, "written and decorated with large initials in Romanesque style by eight Benedictine nuns in the Abbey of Munsterbilsen allegedly in 1134 for the Premonstratensian Abbey of Arnstein in the diocese of Trier";<sup>233</sup> along with Ramón Llull's *Theological and Philosophical Treatises*. These Spanish manuscripts ended up in the British Library, as did those of other prominent collectors like the aforementioned Sloane, King George IV, Thomas Grenville and Robert Harley's son Edward, the Second Earl of Oxford.<sup>234</sup>

The latter inherited his father's book collection, and maintained it until his own death in 1741. The collection, which was housed in Wimpole Hall and Dover Street in Mayfair, benefited from the invaluable librarianship of Humphrey Wanley, who did not hesitate to supply it with Spanish books.<sup>235</sup> This is evident from a letter that he wrote to the rector of St. James Garlickhythe, Philip Stubbs, on 2 July 1712, in which he asked him to acquire a Spanish book, "thus intituled *Museo de las medallas desconnosidas españolas*, by Bernardo Aldrete".<sup>236</sup> A few years later, in a letter to his purchasing agent William Sherard, he requested

230 Alan Noel Latimer Mumby (ed.), *Sale Catalogues of libraries of eminent persons*. Vol. 10. *Antiquaries* (London, Mansell, with Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1974), p. 59.

231 Mumby, *Sale Catalogues*, p. 152.

232 *Bibliotheca Harleiana. A Catalogue of the scarce and valuable remains of the Harleian Library, the property of a nobleman, consisting of many rare and unique works, collected with great research and labour by the celebrated Lord High Treasurer Harley* (London, [1816]).

233 Laura Nuvoloni, "The Harleian Medical Manuscripts", in *Electronic British Library Journal* (eBLJ) 2008, p. 2.

234 Pascual de Gayangos, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Spanish language in the British Library*. III v (London, British Library, 1976).

235 Adlam Derek, *The great collector. Edward Harley, 2nd earl of Oxford* (Notts, Welbeck, 2013), p. 39.

236 P.L. Heyworth, *Letters of Humfrey Wanley. Paleographer, Anglo-Saxonist, librarian 1672–1726* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 268.

that Wanley should go to The Hague and contact a Mr Aymon, who possessed a large number of manuscripts. The works requested included a copy of *The letters & memoirs of Don Heretada de Mendoza*.<sup>237</sup> Harley, who was also an expert in paleography, enjoyed friendships with many booksellers and agents throughout Europe (but, strangely, not in Spain).

His library nevertheless managed to obtain various Spanish books. A letter received by Harley on 20 January 1720 read "my lord send's in 9 Spanish books".<sup>238</sup> Records also show that the earl's library received, on 1 February of the same year, a "transcript of the works of Michael Servetus, made a.d. 1667",<sup>239</sup> and, one year later, "The Complutensian Bible come's hitcher from Oxford".<sup>240</sup> A few years after this, on 18 January 1723 to be precise, the library received a copy of a manuscript of Plutarch's *Moralia*, translated into Spanish, which had been acquired by two agents of Harley the younger who were based on the continent, Nathaniel Noel and George Suttie.

One direct witness of the nature and subsequent sale of the magnificent Harley collection was Samuel Johnson, who had helped Harley to catalogue his library. When the younger Harley died, he was involved both in the 1743 sale of the printed books and, in 1753 and along with the bookseller Thomas Osborne, in the disposal of the manuscripts.<sup>241</sup> Indeed it is to Johnson that we owe one of the best accounts of these events, by way of a tribute to the personality of the Harleys; both father and son:

Surely every man, who considers learning as ornamental and advantageous to the community, must allow them the honor of public benefactors, who have introduced amongst us authors not hitherto well known and added to the literary treasures of their native country.<sup>242</sup>

The Harleian Library faithfully reflected a whole saga of eclectic collectors and buyers of books, and also of antiquities, medals, paintings and other items. However, what really distinguished this library from others of the time was the extraordinary quality of the books in it, and the fact that it had been

<sup>237</sup> Heyworth, *Letters*, p. 429. Letter dated 18 May 1721.

<sup>238</sup> C.E. Wright and Ruth C. Wright (ed.), *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715–1726* (2 vols., London, The Bibliographical Society, 1966), I, 198.

<sup>239</sup> Wright, *The Diary*, p. 85.

<sup>240</sup> Wright, *The Diary*, p. 199.

<sup>241</sup> Alvin Kernan, *Samuel Johnson & the impact of print* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 256.

<sup>242</sup> Frances Harris, "The Harleys as collectors", in *Electronic British Library Journal (eBLJ)*, (2001). Article 1, p. 12.

accumulated thanks to the support of agents scattered throughout the various countries of Europe.

Edward Harley, like his father, rubbed shoulders with a select group of booksellers and antiquarians, such as Thomas Baker, who sold part of his book collection to Edward, and the previously mentioned Hearne, who advised both Harley and the important auction houses and booksellers of the day, such as Christopher Bateman.<sup>243</sup> He also maintained a close relationship with some of the antiquarians at the traditional College of Arms, including Peter le Neve, whose own collection subsequently became part of the Harleian Library.<sup>244</sup> We should likewise not forget his links with the aforementioned Society of Antiquaries. Harley's social circle allowed him to cultivate friendships that ultimately allowed him to add further items to his magnificent library. The British book collectors concerned sometimes found that the acquisition and possession of books could actually be less important than knowing that there were places, such as the Society of Antiquaries, where they could sit down and read them, "Collectors in England until late in the Eighteenth century had generally tended to think in terms of eventual public ownership of their books".<sup>245</sup>

London's world of books in the 1740s, when the Harleian Library was sold, was in fact not all that promising. The Dutch booksellers who had previously dominated part of the British book market began to be displaced by their local counterparts, coinciding with a considerable reduction in the number of book auctions held in London. This unfavourable situation of the 1750s and 1760s provoked the comment "the bookseller, all cry out ruin by his auctions, and indeed it seems now the worst trade in the Kingdom".<sup>246</sup>

The decade from 1750 to 1760 was indeed a complicated time for the book market, although it did not prevent the accumulation of various important private collections. One of these was the library of the Earls of Macclesfield in Oxfordshire, which grew into a magnificent collection as the eighteenth century progressed. It consisted largely of scientific works, thanks to the family's links with members of the Royal Society in London. It included various Spanish works, including a ten-volume edition of Feijoo's famous *Theatro crítico* (1731)

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243 Theodor Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age. Thomas Hearne 1678–1735* (Oxford; Bern; Berlin; Bruxelles; Frankfurt am Main; New York; Wien, Lang, 2000), p. 118.

244 Nigel Ramsay, "English book collectors and the salerooms in the Eighteenth century", in Robin Myers and Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, *Under the Hammer: book auctions since the seventeenth century* (London, Oak Knoll Press & The British Library, 2001), p. 94.

245 Ramsay, "English book collectors", p. 95.

246 Ramsay, "English book collectors", p. 96.



and *Reflexiones militares* (1724) by Álvaro Navía Osorio; the latter bearing the bookplate of George Parker, 2nd Earl of Macclesfield.<sup>247</sup>

It is precisely these marks of possession and corresponding signatures that let us identify the original British owners of the Spanish books concerned. These include two works from the 1750s and 1760s. The first of these belonged to Joseph Graydon, who is probably the person identified in *The Gentleman's and London Magazine* of July 1763 as the "Master of Arts" who acquired a copy of the 1708 edition of Quevedo's *Visiones*.<sup>248</sup> The other was Daines Barrington (1727–1800), a lawyer, antiquarian and friend of Samuel Johnson, who acquired Antonio de Ulloa's *Viajes a Sudamérica* (1760).<sup>249</sup>

Scholars who have studied British book collecting of the period highlight the leading role that the great aristocratic families of the age played in the accumulation of large libraries.<sup>250</sup> The field had been almost totally dominated up to this time by members of the clergy and universities. Now, with the entry of these new participants, the world of books expanded its horizons. Large sums of money came into play, and the participation of agents in the book market, most of whom were booksellers, became crucial for the transactions concerned. This passion entailed a preference for intellectual interest over ostentation, the general instead of the local, the multidisciplinary instead of specialisation and linguistic diversity in place of uniformity. The book collections of eighteenth-century Britain sought above all to create European libraries *stricto sensu* with one common denominator: the presence of rare books.

A good example of this new breed of collector was the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, whose collection was accumulated in various stages. The first of these, which began at the end of the seventeenth century and continued until approximately 1711, saw the collection grow thanks to items from various English bookshops, auctions held in London and the sale of other private collections. English and British collectors' access to European sources of books was limited at that time, with only certain Dutch booksellers to make up for this lack.<sup>251</sup> The booksellers included French Huguenots such as Pierre de Varennes and Jacques Levi, who supplied foreign books for sale at auctions, where, according

247 *Books from the Library of the Earls of Macclesfield*. Catalogue 1440. Maggs Bros. Ltd. (London, 2010), p. 54.

248 Jarndyce. Antiquarian booksellers. *Books & Pamphlets*. Catalogue CCIX, Summer 2014. No. 365.

249 Jarndyce, *Books*, No. 428.

250 Seymour de Ricci, *English collectors of books & manuscripts 1530–1930* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 33.

251 Katherine Swift, "Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana. The making of an Eighteenth-Century Library", in *Bibliophily*, 2 (1986), p. 64.

to contemporary sources, books could be acquired “much cheaper than they can be had in the shops”.<sup>252</sup> These auctions were normally held at coffee houses, and few of them were actually attended by the collectors themselves, such as Sunderland, but rather by their agents. One of these was Paul Vaillant, a Huguenot and member of a group of French booksellers with premises on or near the Strand.<sup>253</sup> He played a key role, along with his brother Isaac, in the second stage of the accumulation of the earl’s book collection.

These agents, along with booksellers like Christopher Bateman, provided a large amount of the items that came to form Sunderland’s collection. Their shop in Paternoster Row became a meeting point for London’s most important collectors, along with other professionals, travellers and diplomats, who also contributed to the growth of this magnificent collection. The Sunderland collection was indebted in this respect to the former British ambassador in Spain, George Bubb Dodington (better known as the 1st Baron Melcombe), who acquired various lots of books in 1716, during his stay in Spain. These naturally included various items in Spanish.<sup>254</sup> It was precisely this intensification of ties with other European regions that characterised the final stage of the accumulation of the Sunderland collection; with agents in Germany and Italy, particularly John Gibson, to enrich it with rare books and first editions.

Some of these rare editions can be tracked via the sale catalogue of the Sunderland collection, which was eventually moved from its original location in London to Blenheim Palace, and finally sold in the nineteenth century. The catalogue items concerned include such prized Spanish books as *Cronica del serenissimo rey Don Juan el segundo* (1517), “first edition” and “very rare” and *Historia general de las Indias* (1553) by López de Gomara, “the very rare first edition of each of these valuable works on America”.<sup>255</sup> Another item included in the Sunderland collection was the “editio princeps” of Mariana’s *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* (1592), bearing the “autograph of Nicolao Antonio”. All these books, along with those that the catalogue classed under the heading of “Hispania”, were curiously all acquired by a single buyer: Quaritch’s bookshop in London.

252 Swift, “Bibliotheca”, p. 68. Observations made by Uffenbach, a German traveller in London, in October 1710.

253 Swift, “Bibliotheca”, p. 69.

254 Swift, “Bibliotheca”, p. 72.

255 *Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana, sale Catalogue of the ... library of printed books known as the Sunderland or Blenheim library. First (–fifth) portion. [with] list of prices and purchasers’ names ...* (London, 1882), p. 588.

In the same year that Ambassador Bubb arrived in Spain, Hearne the antiquarian wrote to his friend Thomas Rawlinson, saying "Your collection of books is admirable". He might have been exaggerating slightly, given their unshakeable bond of friendship, but the library did indeed house one of the finest collections ever to be subsequently sold in Britain.<sup>256</sup> The brothers Thomas and Richard Rawlinson accumulated an extraordinary collection of antiques and books in the course of their numerous journeys throughout Europe. Their family business was unfortunately not so prosperous, and they were forced, under pressure from their creditors, to sell their collection in London at various auctions held over a period of seven years. These were attended by such famous figures of the book world as Hans Sloane, the bibliographer Michel Maittaire and Henry Hare, 3rd Baron Coleraine, among others. It comes as no surprise to learn that the various lots concerned, consisting of 50,000 books and hundreds of manuscripts, and including items of incalculable value, were sold for prices that were well below the market rate.<sup>257</sup> Indeed Rawlinson's auction house actually managed to bring about a collapse in the market for rare books during this period.

The inevitable question at this stage is whether this extraordinary collection included any Spanish books. Most of these items ended up in what is now Oxford University's Bodleian Library, which only records two Spanish manuscripts: a portolan chart by the cosmographer Joan Martines de Messina, dated to between 1567 and 1586, entitled *Four charts for the navigation of Europe* and dedicated to King Felipe II;<sup>258</sup> along with a fifteenth-century parchment copy of the *Statutes of a confraternity at Seville*.<sup>259</sup>

Rawlinson belonged to the same generation as three major collectors whose libraries contained Spanish items: Richard Mead, Anthony Askew and Hans Sloane. Their common denominator was that they were all owned by physicians, and that they were subsequently auctioned in London, save for one, which was acquired by the British Museum. This generation of bibliophiles belonged not to the nobility or the clergy, but to the academic establishment.

The first of them, Richard Mead, had undertaken his Grand Tour in Italy. On returning to London, he became a fellow of the Royal Society, a role which he combined with his work as a physician at St. Thomas's Hospital. The large library that he accumulated in his lifetime reflected the universalist,

256 B.J. Enright, "The later Auction Sales of Thomas Rawlinson's Library, 1727–34", *The Library*, 5th series, 11 (1956), p. 23.

257 Enright, "The later Auction Sales", p. 113.

258 University of Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Rawl. B. 256. Catalogue No. 11601.

259 University of Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Rawl. D. 555. Catalogue No. 13324.

non-specialist spirit of British collectors of the time, which sought to include a wide range of content. His library, like those of his two fellow physicians, demonstrated the transition from a professional approach to librarianship to that of the *cabinet de curiosités*.<sup>260</sup>

The 1754 sale of the *Bibliotheca Meadiana* in Covent Garden was organised by the bookseller Samuel Baker, who had been involved in other important sales in which Spanish books had played a notable role. Whether by coincidence or not, the library of Mead the physician included a good number of Spanish books. The approximately eighty Spanish volumes found there clearly show the various common traits of British collectors of the age. The first of these was their keen interest in the world of history and antiquity, followed by their eagerness to learn the Castilian language, as confirmed by the abundant presence of dictionaries and, finally, the predominance of editions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the detriment of anything significant from the Spanish Enlightenment.

The most representative Spanish items from Mead's collection included the by now usual works by Mariana, the *Historias* of Ocampo, Ambrosio de Morales, Nebrija, Zurita, Antonio de Herrera, Solís, Fernández de Oviedo and Jorge Juan y Ulloa, along with an outstanding selection of local histories. Other items that were likewise often to be found in British libraries of the day included reference books on antiquities by Aldrete, Antonio Agustín and Lastanosa. Books on a subject close to the physician's heart, natural history, included works by Acosta (1578, 1608), an account of the botanical expeditions of Pedro Hernández (1651) and *Historia medicinal* (1574) by Nicolás Monardes. In the area of bibliography and linguistics, meanwhile, we find Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana*, along with the dictionaries of Covarrubias, Pineda, Sobrino and the Spanish Academy. Moving on finally to literature and religion, which are the subjects least represented in the collection, we find a copy of the *Políglota Complutense* and a 1681 edition of *Guzmán de Alfarache*.<sup>261</sup> Two particularly rare books deserve special mention in this respect; one being the *Relation de la destruycion de las Indias* (Seville, 1554) by Las Casas, described as "editio originalis"; and the other a first edition of *Don Quixote* from 1605.

"Being few" is how the bookseller Samuel Baker described the Spanish books in the collection of the physician Anthony Askew.<sup>262</sup> Askew, who was a

260 Paul Potter, "Taste sets the Price: Mead, Askew, and the birth of Bibliomania in Eighteenth-Century England", *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History/Bulletin Canadien d'Histoire de la Médecine*, volume 12 (1995), p. 255.

261 *Bibliotheca Meadiana, sive Catalogus librorum Richardi Mead, M.D.* ([London, 1755]).

262 *Bibliotheca Askeviana. Sive Catalogus Librorum rarissimorum Antonii Askew, M.D.* ([London, 1775]), p. III.

cosmopolitan traveller, had accumulated, with the assistance of Mead, a large collection of Greco-Latin literature, both printed book and manuscript, in the London house which also served as his surgery. The collection went on sale in 1775. The *Bibliotheca Askeviana* actually contained very few Spanish titles. The list was limited to an undated edition of Antonio Pérez's *Cartas*, printed in Paris, and Spanish versions of such classic works as the verse of Lucan, along with Homer's *Ulysses* (1556), translated by Gonzalo Pérez de Cordoba. This latter translation enjoyed great influence in its day, as evidenced by the fact that many writers of the Spanish Golden Age owed their knowledge of Homer to this rendering into Castilian.<sup>263</sup>

The most important Spanish collection in private hands in eighteenth-century London was probably that of the physician Sir Hans Sloane, who was also the president of the Royal Society. Any mention of Sloane inevitably leads us to the founding collection of the British Museum and subsequently the British Library. The life of this English physician was as extraordinary as his collection, as both were widely admired and characterised by the variety and diversity of the subjects that they embraced. He himself confirmed that he possessed nine unique incunables, including one in Spanish.<sup>264</sup>

The truth of this assertion is beyond doubt, as Sloane is known to have catalogued with great precision each and every one of the works that came to form part of his magnificent collection. He acquired his enthusiasm at the early age of twenty-four, beginning with "A Catalogue of my books taken in Feby. 1684/5 in London".<sup>265</sup> Just a few years later, in 1693, he acquired various Spanish manuscripts:<sup>266</sup>

- *Liber urinarum expositus a Magistro Raynaldo seu Arnaldo de Villa Nova ...* in 4°. Ms. 62.
- *The defence of age & recovery of youth of Arnold de Villa Nova translated by Jonas Drummond & dedicated to my Lady Margaret Duglasse niece to Henry 8. &c.* in 4°. Ms. 79.
- *Diálogo de la venida del Mesias entre dos ermanos ebreos bautizados ....* In 8°. Ms. 173.

263 Christopher D. Johnson, "El Homero español': translation and shipwreck", *Translation and Literature*, 20 (2011), p. 167.

264 John Goldfinch, "Sloane's Incunabula", in Alison Walker and Arthur MacGregor and Michael Hunter (ed.), *From books to Bezoars. Sir Hans Sloane and his collection* (London, The British Library, 2012), p. 218.

265 M.A.E. Nickson, "Hans Sloane, book collector and cataloguer, 1682–1698", *British Library Journal*, 14.1 (1988), p. 53.

266 Nickson, "Hans Sloane", p. 64. List of Sloane's Mss. 1–298, taken from Sloane Ms. 3972 C. p. 86 et seqq., with his descriptions in an abridged form.

A 1698 entry in Sloane's immaculately maintained catalogue indicates the acquisition for his library of two copies of a book by a physician named Dionisio Daza Chacón, *Practica y theorica de Cirurgia* (Valladolid, 1595 and 1609).<sup>267</sup> Entries made in the catalogue after 1701 include handwritten comments by one or another of Sloane's assistants, such as Humphrey Wanley, who noted "a: works of medicine, natural philosophy and travel written in Spanish or Portuguese only".<sup>268</sup> Sloane's interest in foreign books, and in those from Spain in particular, is confirmed by his private correspondence from 1700 onwards. A letter received from one of his agents, Jezreel Jones, who was at the time acting as the Royal Society's representative in Cadiz, indicated that he "promised to seek out information on Spanish books".<sup>269</sup> This also illustrates the typical arrangement by which major collectors had agents dispersed around Europe for the purpose of buying desired items.

Sloane stood out particularly in this respect. His collection, includes approximately eight hundred booksellers' catalogues from various European countries, containing Sloane's handwritten observations.<sup>270</sup> These are a major source for tracking the origin of Spanish books. We know, for example, that the catalogues came from the Netherlands, Germany and France, as well as from various Frankfurt book fairs. Others were provided by French Huguenot refugees, such as Pierre de Varennes, who supplied items to British booksellers and collectors like Sloane. Evidence of the above is supplied by the inclusion in Sloane's collection of *Catalogue des livres françois, italiens & espagnols* from Pierres de Varennes' bookshop on the Strand (dating from around 1705).<sup>271</sup>

Sloane was also an habitué of the many book auctions that took place in London at the time. One of these, held in 1703, involved the sale of the collection of Robert Hooke (1635–1703), better known as the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*, which included twenty Spanish books in total.<sup>272</sup> It was auctioned along with another important collection, that of Stuart Bickerstaffe (1661–1703), who travelled all

267 Amy Blakeway, "The Library Catalogues of Sir Hans Sloane: their authors, organization, and functions", in *Electronic British Library Journal (eBLJ)*, (2011), Article 16, p. 10.

268 Blakeway, "The Library Catalogues", p. 14.

269 Blakeway, "The Library Catalogues", p. 14.

270 Giles Mandelbrote, "Les Catalogues de libraires dans les collections de Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753). Provenance et transmission", in Annie Charon and Claire Lesage and Ève Netchine, *Le livre entre le commerce et l'Histoire des idées. Les Catalogues de libraires (xve–xixe siècle)* (Paris, École des Chartes, 2011), p. 208.

271 Mandelbrote, "Les Catalogues", p. 220.

272 Giles Mandelbrote, "Sloane's purchases at the sale of Robert Hooke's Library", in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library: the origins of the British Library's printed collections* (London, The British Library, 2009), p. 99.

over Europe acquiring books, including various volumes from Spain. The details have come down to us from the catalogues of both collections, which bear Sloane's handwritten notes, thereby allowing us to deduce some of his literary preferences. We know for example that the items that he acquired from the Hooke collection included a Latin edition by Benito Arias Montano of *Communes et familiares Hebraicae linguae idiotismi* (1572); and that his acquisitions from the Bickerstaffe sale included *Descripción breve del Escorial* (1657) by Francisco de los Santos, along with a 1664 edition of the *Obras* of Gracián.<sup>273</sup>

But this was not the only way of acquiring Spanish books that he had at his disposal. We know, thanks to his abundant correspondence, the names of some of the friends and acquaintances with whom he exchanged books and information relating to Spain. It is curious to discover that one such correspondent was an important figure from the region of Valencia, Manuel Martí, deacon of Alicante. He in turn maintained a very close relationship with two Neapolitans residing in Alicante, the Bolifón brothers. The letters of Sloane do indeed refer to one Antonio Bolifón, a resident of Naples, with whom the Italian intellectual Ludovico Muratori, who was in turn linked to Gregorio Mayans, maintained a correspondence. Antonio Bolifón then entered into correspondence with Sloane on the subject of books on botany, some of which had a Spanish connection.<sup>274</sup>

Collectors like Sloane also had, in addition to their agents, other ways of learning first-hand about Spanish books, such as bibliographies. We know that Sloane used *Bibliotheca Hispana* by Nicolás Antonio of Seville as a work of reference in this respect, as evidenced by the copy preserved in the collection of the British Library.<sup>275</sup> We also know that he obtained his copy of Antonio's work in 1698 via an acquaintance named William Sherard, who was at the time travelling on the continent.<sup>276</sup> The reading of bibliographies allowed Sloane not only to draw up a roster of his most desired books, in this case works from Spain; but also helped him to create lists of items based on a perusal of certain individual books. We know for example that he drew up, after reading Pedro Fernández de Navarrete's *Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China* (Madrid, 1676), a list of the sources found in that work.<sup>277</sup>

273 Mandelbrote, "Sloane's purchases", p. 118 and seqq.

274 *Sir Hans Sloane's Correspondence Online*. British Library, London. Sloane MS 4036. ff. 333–334. Letter from Antonio Bulifón to Sloane. 24 May 1699. Available at: <https://drc.usask.ca/projects/sloaneletters/doku.php?id=letter&letterid=574>.

275 Blakeway, "The Library Catalogues", p. 14.

276 Blakeway, "The Library Catalogues", p. 16.

277 Blakeway, "The Library Catalogues", p. 18.

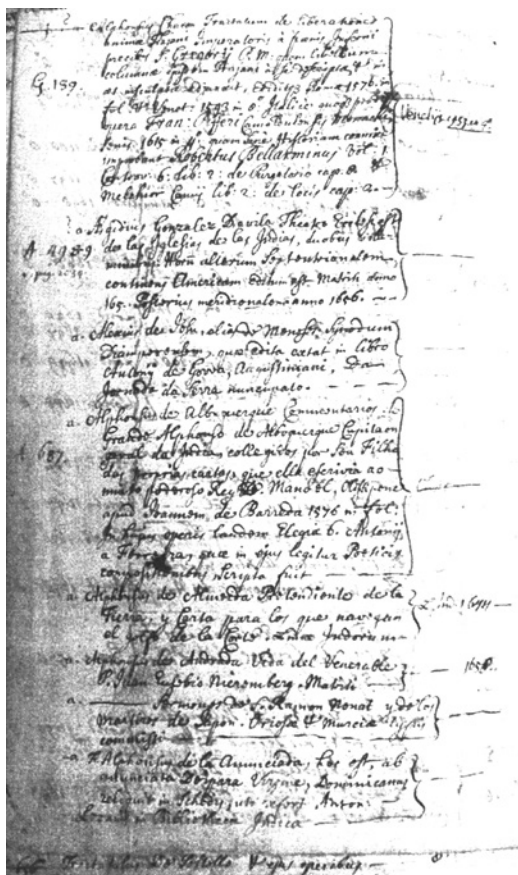


FIGURE 16 Sloane's handwritten notes in his catalogue, with indications on two Spanish books: Gil González Dávila, "Teatro eclesiastico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales" (Madrid, 1655); and Alfonso de Andrade, "Vida del P. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg" (Madrid, 1658). Blakeway, Amy, "The Library Catalogues of Sir Hans Sloane: their authors, organization, and functions", in *Electronic British Library Journal* (eBLJ), 2011, Article 16.

A "brief list of books, mainly Spanish and Portuguese" noted down by Sloane and dating from around 1700 is preserved in the collection. These are basically works concerning the history of America, where the great chroniclers that stand out include Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Fernández de Oviedo, Herrera, Acosta and Las Casas, among others.<sup>278</sup> Dating from the same year, and also

278 BL. Ms. Sloane 1775. ff.162v–165. A brief list of books, mainly Spanish and Portuguese. c. 1700.



handwritten, is a "Catalogue of books bought in Madrid", classified as follows: 148 folio, 89 quarto, 23 octavo and 11 duodecimo editions.<sup>279</sup> Another handwritten list from a few years later, dated 1710, catalogues Sloane's collection of Spanish books, organised alphabetically by name of author. The outstanding names in this list of approximately two hundred works include representatives of Spanish historical criticism, like Nicolás Antonio, Saenz de Aguirre and the Marquis of Mondéjar, along with a notable roster of books printed in or relating to Valencia.<sup>280</sup> Other European cities involved include Lisbon, where we find various works of the playwright Juan Perez de Montalbán and the Catalan writer Gaspar Sala, all catalogued as part of Sloane's Portuguese collection.<sup>281</sup>

By the time Sloane died in 1753, all these items were in his home in Chelsea. The collection included approximately fifty thousand printed books and some four thousand manuscripts. We clearly cannot examine them all, but we can focus on those deposited in the British Library, known collectively as the "Sloane Printed Books".<sup>282</sup> This part of the collection includes a total of 643 Spanish books, representing a much higher proportion than that found in other private collections in Britain at that time. Nevertheless, and despite this caveat, the Spanish part of the collection displays the tendencies already observed in other libraries. The key aspect of this is chronological, with 70% of the items in the collection being from the seventeenth century, 21% from the 1500s, and only 9% from the eighteenth century, resulting – once again – in a library largely based on the Baroque. This emphasis on the Baroque is further and definitively emphasised by the fact that more than 30% of the books in the library are on religion, along with 22% on the sciences, 17% on history, leaving just 30% to account for such diverse subjects as economics, law and literature. Furthermore, and in contrast to other collections of the day, there are no especially significant works from any century in particular.

We can draw various conclusions from this. The first of these is that Sloane's Spanish collection was characterised by quantity, rather than literary quality. This can probably be attributed to his agents, booksellers or both parties. He also lacked any clear specialisation, with tastes that were highly varied and not very well defined. The contents of the collection display a marked preference for a Baroque firmly anchored in Catholic orthodoxy, as opposed to the outstanding literature of the Spanish Golden Age; not to mention the great

279 BL. Ms. Sloane 2890. ff.98–140. *A Catalogue of books bought in Madrid*. c. 1700.

280 BL. Ms. Sloane 2887. ff.29–43. *A list of Spanish books*. c. 1710.

281 Julio Costa, "Sloane's Portuguese books", in *Electronic British Library Journal (eBLJ)*, (2015), Article 10, pp. 28 and 31.

282 BL. Sloane Printed Books. Available at: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/sloane/>.

works of knowledge of the eighteenth century. Sloane's insatiable curiosity as a collector clashes with the mentality on which the library was based, in which the books appear to transmit an air of a world that had passed, rather than anything modern.

As with Sloane, we can trace the fate of the books – in this case Spanish ones – from other collections for which handwritten inventories have been preserved. Such is the case of the collection of a lawyer and politician named Francis St. John (1634–1705), housed at Thorpe Hall in Peterborough, which contained some of the classic Spanish works normally found in major collections of the day. These included Cipriano de Valera's *Biblia*, Sandoval's *Historia de Carlos v*, and of course Mariana's *Historia* and Herrera's *La historia indiana*, along with a few other items.<sup>283</sup>

On other occasions we find the Spanish books concerned listed alphabetically by author. This was the method used by the previously mentioned British politician Frederick North (Lord North), who possessed various interesting editions of works by Cervantes. The inventory made of his collection in about

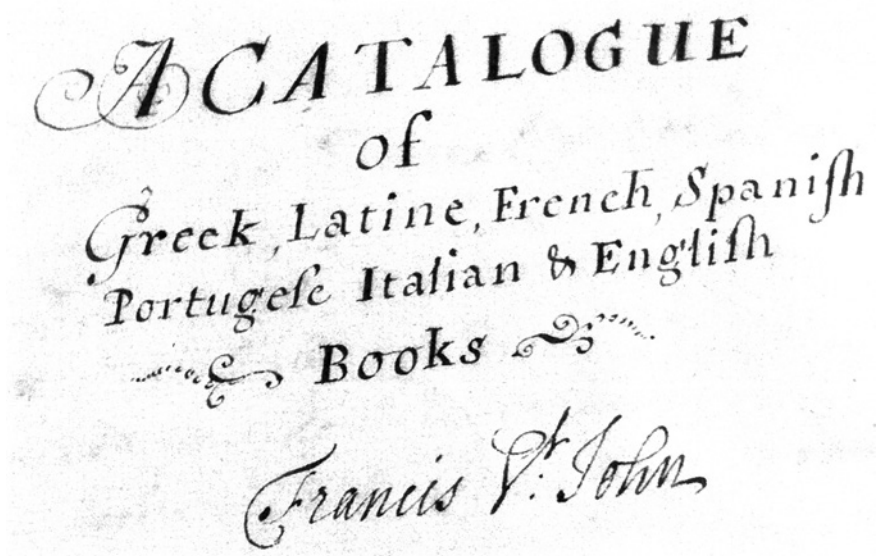


FIGURE 17 Handwritten catalogue of the library of Francis St. John, including certain Spanish books. BL. Add. Ms. 25306. *A Catalogue of Greek, Latine, French, Spanish, Portugese, Italian & English books. Forming the Library of Francis St. John, eighteenth century.*

<sup>283</sup> BL. Add. Ms. 25306. *A Catalogue of Greek, Latine, French, Spanish, Portugese, Italian & English books. Forming the Library of Francis St. John, eighteenth century.*

1795 includes various Spanish items, such as Argensola's *Los Anales de Aragón*, Bernardo Desclot's *Historia de Cataluña* (1616), Garibay's *Compendio historial de las chronicas* (1628) and the often-found *Historia de las Indias* (1601) by Herrera.<sup>284</sup>

One common trait that united British bibliophiles of the day was their shared enthusiasm for rare manuscripts and first editions in English. These items were hunted down by a large group of collectors, who competed with each other to possess the greatest number of copies. This can be seen in the Thursday meetings held by a collector named John Ratcliffe, who invited fellow bibliophiles like Askew, Crofts or James West to coffee and hot chocolate. He would then announce some of his recent acquisitions, and those present would bid for them. Indeed West, whose mansion and library stood in Covent Garden, completed with Ratcliffe to see who could possess the greatest number of books produced by Caxton, and ended up with sixty examples of the latter's work.<sup>285</sup> Another quite common custom on the part of the collectors of the day, as demonstrated by their correspondence, was the search for *editiones principes* and the best incunables, which were the cornerstones of their respective collections.<sup>286</sup>

Despite this specific interest, West did not neglect the Spanish part of his collection, although it became apparent, during its eventual sale, that the corresponding list was rather short. It included just five items; the outstanding titles being *Examen marítimo theórico* (1771) by Jorge Juan, and a 1675 edition of *Don Quixote*.<sup>287</sup> Other figures associated with this feverish search for the best rare books and curiosities included the bibliographer Joseph Ames, whose famous *Typographical Antiquities* (1749) was based in part on his close collaboration with the bibliophiles of the day, including West, with whom he came to the associated.<sup>288</sup>

284 BL. Add. Ms. 16570. ca. 1795. *Alphabetical Catalogue of printed books, in Latin, French, Italian and Spanish; part of the Library of the Hon. Frederic North (afterwards fifth Earl of Guilford)*.

285 Charles Lucas, "Book-collecting in the Eighteenth Century: The Library of James West", *The Library*, 49, 5 Series, Volume 3 (1949), p. 270.

286 John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, printed for the author, 1812), pp. 432–432. One example of this is the letter from Joseph Ames to George North, thanking him for news of his *Typographical Antiquities*.

287 *A Catalogue of the large and noble library of James West, esq. of King's Street, Covent Garden, deceased; late President of the Royal Society ... will be sold by auction ... on Wednesday the 3d and end the 13th of February 1773; and the second part will be begin on Monday the 22d of February, and end the 13th of march following* ([London: s.n., 1773]).

288 Lucas, "Book-collecting", p. 267.

The 1760s began with a new enthusiasm for book collecting. This was led by the king himself, George III, who had inherited the tradition from his predecessors. This chimed in with the spirit of the other great collectors of the age, who had a network of agents dispersed across Europe. Examples include George Nicol, whose bookshop in Covent Garden received some of the Caxton editions that the British monarch collected with such passion. He turned London into Europe's main centre of attention for booksellers and collectors alike, who were now able to gain a first-hand knowledge of the King's Library, which was opened up to scholars. Now housed in the British Museum, it included a large number of Spanish books inherited from previous monarchs, consisting largely of works on history and geography, and travel books. These include a copy of Carlos Coloma's *Las guerras de los estados Baxos* (1625). Originally part of the library of Carlos II, it was donated to the British Museum by Britain's ambassador in Spain, Sir Paul Methuen (†1757).<sup>289</sup> George III extended his collection, as recorded in the *Bibliothecae regiae Catalogus* (1820), which catalogues the items in the royal book collection. These additions included works by Pedro Abarca, a Spanish Jesuit; the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1726, 1783) and the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1771) of the Spanish Academy, along with various works published by the Spanish academies and royal economic societies of the eighteenth century; a large number of works by Cervantes, particularly various eighteenth-century editions of *Don Quixote*; and works by important representatives of the Spanish Enlightenment, such as Cerdá y Rico or Cavanilles, among others.<sup>290</sup>

Some of the Spanish books in George III's library were obtained from Joseph Smith, who was the British consul in Venice. A great collector, he sold part of his library to the king in 1765 for £10,000. A further part of his collection was auctioned in London in 1773.<sup>291</sup> His collection, which was regarded as "princely" by his contemporaries, was characterised by the large number of incunables that it contained, almost three hundred, most of them Italian.<sup>292</sup> The *pretiosissima* library "was rich in Latin, classical Greek, Italian, French and English works, with occasionally works in Spanish".<sup>293</sup> It is in fact rare to find Spanish books in

289 Geoffrey West, "Spanish books in the Old Royal Library: a preliminary survey", in Barry Taylor and Geoffrey West and Jane Whetnall (eds.), *Text, manuscript, and print in medieval and modern Iberia: studies in honour of David Hook* (New York, HSMS, 2013), p. 402.

290 *Bibliothecae regiae Catalogus*. T. I (Londini, excudebant Gul. Bulmer et Gul. Nicol, 1820).

291 De Ricci, *English Collectors*, p. 55.

292 Stuart Morrison, "Records of a Bibliophile. The Catalogues of Consul Joseph Smith and some aspects of his collecting", *The Book Collector*, 43 (1994), pp. 42–43.

293 Lotte Hellinga, "The Bibliotheca Smithiana", in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library* (London, British Library, 2009), p. 265.

the eight catalogues corresponding to this library. One of these, the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (1755), does however include certain Spanish items, among them:<sup>294</sup>

- Calderón, Pedro. *El Garrote más bien dado*, Comedia.
- Calderón, Pedro *La mañana será otro día*. Comedia.
- Calderón, Pedro *Los empeños que se ofrecen*. Comedia.
- Calderón, Pedro *La guarda de si mismo*. Comedia.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novellas exemplares*. En Madrid, por Juan de la Cuesta, 1614. 4°. *Enq. in vitel*.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *Vida y hechos del ingenioso caballero D. Quixote de la Manca*. En Amberes, por Geronymo Verdussen, 1673. 8. Vol. 2. *Enq. in berg*.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. La misma, en Madrid, en la imprenta de la Viuda de Blas de Villanueva, 1730. 4 vol. 2. *Enq. in berg*.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *Explicación de los refranes, y palabras más difíciles contenidas en la dicha Historia &c.*
- *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. En Madrid, en la Imprenta de Francisco del Hierro, 1722, 1726, 1729, 1734, 1737, 1739. Fol. Vol. 6. *Enq. in vitel*.
- Feyjoo, Benito Geronymo. *Theatro critico-universal*. En Madrid, en la imprenta de la Viuda de Francisco del Hierro, 1733. 4 vol. 6. *Enq. en Berg*.
- Mariana, Joannes. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae lib. xx*. Toleti, typis Petri RodERICI, 1592. Fol. *Lig. Holl*.
- Polo, Gaspar Gil. *La Diana enamorada*. En Bruselles, 1613. 12. *Enq. en Vitel*.

These are some of the few Spanish books that Smith had in his collection, and they ended up forming part of the King's Library. We can observe certain differences here, with respect to the collections already studied. Perhaps the most prominent of these is chronological, as most of the books are from the eighteenth century. It is also quite clear in this case that Smith followed to the letter the principle of the perfect British bibliophile, which always looked for the ideal copy of the book concerned, as evidenced by the fact that all the items in his collection were of very high quality, including some that were bound in vellum.

The example of Smith gives us a vision of his longstanding attitude (given his very long life) in terms of Spanish books. He dedicated a good part of the almost ninety years of his life to the collecting of incunables and rare books, very few of which were Spanish. George III acquired, upon his purchase of this fabulous collection, not only books but also a concept of European culture that

294 *Bibliotheca Smithiana, seu Catalogus librorum D. Josephi Smithii Angli* (Venetiis, Typis Jo. Baptistae Pasquali, 1755).

could be displayed on the shelves of his *dignissima* library, in which Spain was barely represented. The British king's early education had in fact been placed in the hands of a royal adviser, the Earl of Bute (1713–92), who inculcated in the young Prince George the Latin, German and French, but not Spanish, languages. Even more significant, just to make this point even clearer, is the fact that after Frederick Augusta Barnard (1742–1830) was put in charge of acquisitions for the King's Library in 1768, he visited Paris, Vienna, Rome, Strasbourg, Dresden, Berlin, Amsterdam, Brussels and Spa, but not Spain.<sup>295</sup>

The library of George III therefore inherited a tradition of book collecting that paid little attention to anything Spanish. Both surviving catalogues provide good examples of this. The first, of 1769, includes a section on English, French and Italian, but not Spanish, history; while the literature section mentions books in Greek, Latin, English, French and Italian, but – again – not in Spanish.<sup>296</sup> The catalogue of 1820–1829 does in fact include certain Spanish items, but the works concerned never exceed 10% of the total in any subject.<sup>297</sup> It is somewhat strange, given this situation, that the two score or so books retained by George IV for his personal use, which were not passed on to the British Library along with the rest of the King's Library, should in fact contain a Spanish work, specifically St Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* of 1473.<sup>298</sup>

In fact George III's library did not just contain books from Spain; it also included a remarkable collection of Spanish maps. These include certain outstanding works of Spanish cartography of the Enlightenment, such as the 1757 atlas of Tomás López; along with a select collection of Spanish maps in French.<sup>299</sup> These maps were almost certainly shipped along with books, as a way of increasing booksellers' profit margins.

Although the private collection of the Reverend Clayton Mordaunt Crachero was perhaps not as extensive or varied, it was equally well conserved; as evidenced by the state of the items from it that ended up in the British Museum. He was interested mainly in Italian incunables and editions produced by the Aldine Press, and competed in a market dominated by such highly demanding clients as George III himself or Thomas Grenville, among others. Just like them, he had certain booksellers in whom he trusted, such as Payne,

295 P.R. Harris, "The King's Library", in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library* (London, British Library, 2009), p. 298.

296 Harris, "The King's", p. 299.

297 Harris, "The King's", p. 305.

298 Harris, "The King's", p. 316.

299 *Catalogue of maps, prints, drawings, etc. forming the Geographical and Topographical collection attached to the Library of his late majesty King George the Third* (London, 1829), pp. 315–316.



This first generation included the library of George Spencer-Churchill, Marquis of Blandford and 5th Duke of Marlborough, whose extensive book collection was housed in the fabulous Blenheim Palace. The books in this collection included several Spanish items, some of which were extraordinarily rare. One of them, Cristóbal de Acuña's *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran río de las Amazonas*, had been published in 1641 as a highly limited edition, and quickly came to be considered a rare book, although this did not prevent it being widely distributed abroad as translations into other languages. One of Spencer's catalogues does indeed describe it as being "excessively rare". The copy in question came from the collection of a Colonel Stanley.<sup>301</sup> The French translator of this book said in 1682 that he only knew of two copies. De Bure meanwhile, speaking at the end of the eighteenth century, alleged that only three existed; and the bibliographer Gallardo said that there were perhaps no more than four anywhere in the world.<sup>302</sup> Palau for his part noted that we cannot class Acuña's book as "rare", given that he had verified the existence of at least eleven copies.

Another jewel of Spencer's library was the 1533 Venice edition of *Amadís de Gaula*, qualified as "extremely rare", although it is the edition of which most copies still exist, probably owing to its high production quality. The list of chivalric literature includes *Las sergas de Esplandián* of 1588, by Rodríguez de Montalvo, who also wrote *Amadís*, in a quarto edition considered "very rare". An equally rare item is the 1523 Seville edition of *La Celestina*. It has no statement of printer, but has been attributed to Juan Bautista Pedrezano. There are also various editions of *Lazarillo de Tormes* in Spanish (1602, 1612), and a very rare *Silva de varios romances* of Zaragoza (1550). We do not know whether this is the copy currently in the custody of the British Library, which contains works by Francisco de Argüello that the bibliographer Rodríguez-Moñino considered "very old", although it can be assigned the date of 1550.<sup>303</sup>

Spencer's collection also included an incunable from Valencia, *Varios versos per honrar de Sant Christofol*, printed by Pere Trincher in 1498 and described as "very rare". The work in question, of uncertain date, was *Obra a llaors del benaventurat lo senyor sant Christòfol*, which made reference to an event

301 *White knights Library. Catalogue of that distinguished and celebrated Library ... which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Evans* ([London, 1819]), p. 6.

302 Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero Hispano-Americano*, T.I (Barcelona, 1948), p. 69.

303 Antonio Rodríguez Moñino, *Silva de romances* (Zaragoza, 1550–1551). *Ahora por vez primera reimpressa desde el siglo XVI en presencia de todas las ediciones* (Zaragoza, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1970), p. 41.



organised by the parish church of San Juan in Valencia to honour Saint Christopher.<sup>304</sup> A copy of this incunable, which is currently preserved in the National Library in Madrid, came from the sales of Salvá y Heredia, and is possibly Spencer's copy.

Similar items can be found in another collection of the same period; that of the Dukes of Devonshire, kept in the library at Chatsworth House. These include the cited edition of *Amadís de Gaula* (1533), the famous bibliography of Nicolás Antonio, the *Políglota Complutense* and the works of Mariana and Quevedo, among others. Special mention is also due to the two incunables kept in the library. The first of these is a work by the Bishop of Palencia, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arevalo, entitled *Speculum vite humane* (1488), which was something of a best seller in Europe of that century, with more than fifteen editions printed.<sup>305</sup> It was a highly critical work, particularly with respect to the church, and helped contribute to the spirit of the Reformation.<sup>306</sup> The second of these incunables is *Historia Hispanica* (1470), which narrates the history of Spain from the Visigoth invasion onwards.

A collection like that of the Dukes of Devonshire would not be complete without an extraordinary set of versions of *Don Quixote*, starting with the first edition (1605) and continuing with that of 1680, along with the Ibarra edition of 1780 and various English and French translations from the eighteenth century.<sup>307</sup> The 1700s also gave the collection another of its few Spanish works, in the shape of *Relación histórica del viage para medir los grados de Meridiano* (1748) by Jorge Juan, along with *Observaciones astronómicas* (1748) by the same author.

Although the private libraries of eighteenth-century Britain tended to display a general approach, as demonstrated by the presence of Spanish books, some collections were more specialised. Such was the collection of the Reverend Isaac Gosset, whose library housed many biblical and bibliographical works like the previously mentioned *Biblia Políglota Complutense*; a five-volume edition in this case.<sup>308</sup> The library of a clergyman named Joseph Mendham

304 Antoni Ferrando Francés, *Els certamens poètics valencians del segle XIV al XIX* (Valencia, Alfons el Magnànim, 1983), p. 561.

305 José Manuel Ruiz Vila, *El Speculum vite humane (1468) de Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo*. Tesis doctoral leída en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Facultad de Filología. Dpto. Filología Latina. Madrid, 2008. Available at: <http://eprints.ucm.es/9420/1/T30905.pdf>, p. 8.

306 Ruiz Vila, *El Speculum*, p. 127.

307 *Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth*. Volume 1 (London, 1879), pp. 351–352.

308 Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An introduction to the study of Bibliography. To which is prefixed A memoir of the public libraries of the antients*. vol. 11 (London, 1814), p. 651.

concentrated on similar subject matter, and it was possible to find in it a magnificent copy of *Políglota*, from the library of Prince Eugene of Savoy, which had been acquired by the London bookshop of R. Ogle, before being sold to Priestly, another bookseller, who passed it on to William Roscoe (1753–1831), a British politician and botanist, before it was finally acquired by Mendham in 1816.<sup>309</sup> Mendham's collection also included, alongside this bibliographical treasure, rare works by the theologian and humanist Pedro Ciruelo,<sup>310</sup> works by Pedro de Covarrubias,<sup>311</sup> books by Luis de Páramo on the Inquisition,<sup>312</sup> Gerónimo Soler's *Memorial de las santas reliquias del colegio del corpus Christi de Valencia* (1756) and the works of Bishop Pérez de Ayala,<sup>313</sup> among others. The latter, which was considered to be an “extremely rare treatise on the Spanish Order of Santiago”, came, as the sale catalogue indicates, from another important library of eighteenth-century Britain, that of the previously mentioned politician Frederick North, Lord North.

The library of the orientalist William Marsden (1754–1836) was just as specialised, and it now forms a notable part of the library of King's College London. His collection, which arose both from his travels in the East Indies and his inexhaustible curiosity, tended to favour works in the field of linguistics, and specifically included a collection of language dictionaries. One result of this concern was his *Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, and Alphabets* (1796), which contained a trace of things Spanish in the shape of authors like Aldrete, Mayans, Velázquez, Pérez Bayer and others, who were associated with major linguistic endeavours. One item that draws the attention is his inclusion of a section dedicated to the “Cantabrian or Basque” language.<sup>314</sup>

One way of finding out if these Spanish books mentioned by Marsden were actually owned by him and not just cited is to examine the actual library. This shows that the titles concerned were indeed present, along with the famous

309 Sotheby's, London, 20 May 2014. *The Property of the Law Society of England and Wales. A further selection from the library of Joseph Mendham* (1769–1856), p. 25.

310 *Books from the Ecclesiastical Collection of Joseph Mendham*. Bloomsbury Auction London. Thursday 20 March 2014. Pedro Ciruelo, *Arte de bien Confessar* (Toledo, 1525, 1536).

311 Sotheby's, London, p. 30. Pedro de Covarrubias, *Memorial de pecados y aviso de la vida christiana* (Seville, Jacobus Cromberger, 1516), p. 30.

312 Sotheby's, London. Luis de Páramo. *De origine et progressu officii Sanctae Inquisitionis, eiúsque dignitate & vtilitate* (Madrid, Typographia Regia, 1598).

313 Sotheby's, London. Gerónimo Soler. *Compendio y declaracion deloq[ue] son obligados aguardar los caualleros de la Orde[n] d[e] Sa[n]tiago ... un breue Tractado para bie[n] confessar* (Milan, Innocentius Ciconiarus, 1552).

314 William Marsden, *A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, and Alphabets. In two parts* (London, Printed 1796), p. 100.

*Diccionario* of the Spanish Royal Academy, among other works.<sup>315</sup> Marsden lists in his autobiography some of the Spanish items in his collection that were acquired for the section on lexicography, such as *Vocabulario Poligloto* “and other philological tracts of the Abbé Lorenzo Hervás, compiled from the papers of the Jesuit missionaries, and printed in 1787”.<sup>316</sup>

Marsden also added the Bible to the section specialising in philology. His collector’s passion also led to him possessing other Spanish books, including a magnificent edition of *Políglota Complutense* acquired at the 1802 auction of Earl Spencer’s collection, or the Bible of Cipriano de Valera (1602), among other items.

While the presence of Spanish books is important, its absence from certain libraries is no less surprising. The first of these, that of the virtuoso, Horace Walpole, possessed books in French, Dutch and Italian, but allegedly none in Spanish.<sup>317</sup> This statement is qualified by the fact that his collection did include a large number of English translations of Spanish works and even a few originals, such as Henrique Flórez’s *Memorias de los reyes catholicos* (1761), *Descripción breve del monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial* (1681) by Francisco de los Santos and certain manuscripts, such as *Historia de la monarchia, al conde duque de Olivares*, dated 1622.<sup>318</sup>

Another important book collection of the time was that of Richard Ellys, a British parliamentarian who collaborated in the production of *Histoire de l’imprimerie* by Prosper Marchand. He was a friend of booksellers like Michel Maittaire and had undertaken his Grand Tour in Europe, which – as was usual – omitted Spain. This was reflected in his book collection of more than twelve thousand editions, with a total absence of anything Spanish.<sup>319</sup>

Collections of exclusively religious items were accompanied by others that were more specialised and scientific, such as that of Joseph Banks, the naturalist. His collection, which was ultimately donated to the British Library,

315 William Marsden, *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana. A Catalogue of books and manuscripts collected ... by William Marsden* (London, 1827).

316 William Marsden, *A brief memoir of the life and writings of the late William Marsden, written by himself* (London, 1838), p. 152.

317 Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, *Horace Walpole’s library* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958).

318 Allen T. Hazen, *A Catalogue of Horace Walpole’s Library* (London, Oxford University Press, 1969), v. II, p. 401.

319 Giles Mandelbrote and Yvonne Lewis, *Learning to collect. The library of Sir Richard Ellys (1682–1742) at Blicking Hall* (London, The National Trust, 2004).

consisted of Europe's most important library and herbarium of the day.<sup>320</sup> It also contained certain Spanish books, such as *Estatutos de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País* (1774), along with various works of natural history by authors such as William Bowles, Gaspar Casal (on the natural history of Asturias), Ignacio de Asso (on the zoology of Aragon),<sup>321</sup> the works on botany of Casimiro Gómez Ortega and a magnificent edition of José Quer's *Flora española* (1762–1784), among others.<sup>322</sup>

Banks obtained these items via, among others, Cavanilles, a botanist from Valencia, who maintained an intense correspondence with both Banks and other prominent Britons, as we shall see. His relationship with Banks does not appear to have been all that friendly, as the letters exchanged between them demonstrate. This did not however prevent Cavanilles from supplying Banks with each of his works as soon as they were published. These include *Dissertatio botanica* (1785–1790), which was despatched to England in instalments. Banks held the work in high regard, confirmed by the fact that he gave it a prominent place in his library. As he said:

I can assure you that whatever prejudices my friend M. Heritier may have against your works that they hold a distinguish place in my library and a very high rank in my esteem.<sup>323</sup>

In another of his letters, Banks informed Cavanilles of his intention to “distribute the copies of your Observations to the Botanist here”, in a clear allusion to *Observations ... sur l'article Espagne de la nouvelle Encyclopédie* (1784). It was in fact thanks to Banks that Cavanilles came to the attention of the Royal Society, of which Banks was already a member, in 1785. It involved two of his books: *Dissertatio* and the above-mentioned *Observations*. Banks expressed to Cavanilles on numerous occasions his desire, in vain as it turned out, for him to visit Britain and visit several of the country's herbaria and bookshops.

320 Rüdiger Joppien and Neil Chambers, “The scholarly Library and collections of knowledge of Sir Joseph Banks”, in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library: the origins of the British Library's printed collections* (London, The British Library, 2009), pp. 222–243.

321 Jonas Dryander, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Historico-Naturalis Josephi Banks*. Tomus I (Londini, Typis Gul. Bulmer et Soc, 1798), p. 240.

322 Jonas Dryander, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Historico-Naturalis Josephi Banks*. Tomus III (Londini, Typis Gul. Bulmer et Soc, 1797), p. 23, pp. 145–146.

323 ARJB (Archivo del Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid), Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Joseph Banks to Cavanilles*. London, 30 June 1789.

This desire was likewise expressed by another British scientist, James Edward Smith, the President of the Linnean Society, to whom Cavanilles also supplied certain books. These included a pamphlet that Cavanilles wrote in opposition to L'Heritier, entitled "Observations de M. l'Abbé Cavanilles ... sur le cinquième fascicule de M. L'Heritier", published in the periodical *Observations sur la Physique, sur l'Histoire Naturelle et sur les Arts*, (1789). Smith knew about this work thanks to Baron Dillon, the third element in this correspondence, who had sent a copy to Smith's London house at 12, Great Marlborough Street.<sup>324</sup> Smith was interested above all in knowing about the work being carried out by Cavanilles, who was by now living in Madrid, on new types of seeds and herbs, and also his publications on botany; along with those of fellow scientists like Mutis, Hipólito Ruiz and José Pavón, among others. He therefore proposed, with some insistence on his part, that they begin an "échange de nos ouvrages", for which he asked Cavanilles to use the Paris route of the booksellers Didot or Fournier, to whom he would likewise write for the purpose of sending his own books to Cavanilles.<sup>325</sup> The corresponding letters show that Smith was on occasions the intermediary for books sent by Cavanilles to Banks.<sup>326</sup> But his main role was to disseminate awareness of Cavanilles' books in London. Let us consider this:

I burn with impatience to see the continuation of your first volume.  
I have sold four copies, and my friends are eager to have the sequel.<sup>327</sup>

The exchange of books between Cavanilles and Smith was constant. As Smith wrote in one of his letters "je vous enverrai le Voyage de Mr. Towsend en Espagne",<sup>328</sup> in his hope that Spain would be content with his vision.<sup>329</sup> In another of these exchanged letters, Smith informed Cavanilles of the desire on the part of two London booksellers, Benjamin and John White, to obtain the following works by Cavanilles:

324 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 20 July 1789.

325 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 2 February 1790.

326 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 16 July 1790.

327 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 30 January 1792: "Je brule d'impatience de voir la suite de votre premiere volume. J'en ai vendu 4 exemplaires, et mes amis seront bien aises d'avoir la suite".

328 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 24 February 1792: "I am sending you the *Voyage* of Mr Townsend in Spain".

329 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 19 February 1793.

La 22 de Julio, como a los libros y la obra  
 de los mis libros a la de la obra.  
 Monsieur & cher ami.

Londres ce 7 Mars 1794.

J'ai reçu votre paquet depuis  
 long tems, mais ayant été à la campagne, &  
 très occupé depuis, je n'ai pas pu y  
 répondre avec le soin qu'il falloit. — Je suis  
 charmé d'apprendre que votre ouvrage s'avance,  
 & je vous prie de m'en envoyer au plutôt que possible  
 la suite de votre 2.<sup>e</sup> volume, & les 5 exemplaires  
 en outre de cette volume. Je ne sçai pas le  
 sujet, mais sans doute vous en trouverez, & je  
 vous prie instamment d'y ajouter des exemplaires  
 de toutes vos nouvelles plantes de l'Amérique  
 & de l'Espagne. — Messrs B. & J. White libraires  
 en Fleet street Londres, que sans doute vous  
 connaissez, m'ont chargé de vous prier de  
 leur envoyer  
 12 de votre 2.<sup>e</sup> volume d'Icones.  
 2 de vos dix Dissertations sur la Monadelphie.  
 1 de vos 9 & 10. —  
 & 10 de votre 11<sup>e</sup> Dissertation, si elle a paru.  
 La tout broché en carton.  
 Vous n'avez qu'à tirer un billet de change  
 sur Messrs White pour le montant, & ils le  
 payeront tout de suite. Ils sont des gens  
 tout à fait surs, & même très riches.

FIGURE 19 Letter sent by Smith to Cavanilles to inform him of the interest of White's bookshop in various Spanish items. ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles. London 7 March 1794.

- 12 [exemplars] de votre 2<sup>o</sup> volume d'Icones.
- 2 de vos dix Dissertations sur la Monadelphie
- 1 de vos 9 et 10
- 10 de votre 11 Dissertation, si elle a paru

Smith indicated that he would arrange for this purpose a “billet de change” for the total amount in the Whites’ name, with an assurance that payment would be rapid, as “ils sont des gens tout a fait surs, et très riches”.<sup>330</sup> The payment for

330 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles. London 7 March 1794: “These people are sure of themselves, and very rich”.

items sent to the London bookshops was however not always as smooth as one might suppose. The “malheureuse guerre” hampered many book shipments to London to the extent that “il faut esperer que la guerre ne durera pas toujours” in order to re-establish the flow of items sent by Cavanilles to the Whites.<sup>331</sup> These included *Anales de Historia natural* (1799), a periodical founded by Cavanilles, regarding which Smith expressed “je serai bien aise de voir vos Anales en anglois”.<sup>332</sup>

The third person to appear in the letters between Cavanilles and his British correspondents, who acted as a link between both parties, was the aforementioned Baron Dillon. In his first letter to Cavanilles, he thanked him for sending two copies of his *Observations ... sur l'article Espagne* (1784), on which the Englishman commented “muchos de estos autores clásicos españoles que usted cita me son bastante conocidos”, while indicating, a little further into the correspondence and in relation to the same book: “colocare como la más preciosa alaja de mi Biblioteca, dándole una encuadernación a la inglesa”.<sup>333</sup> The British nobleman had in fact previously begun a “minor work” based on literary letters charting the progress of poetry in Spain, which he now made known to Cavanilles, indicating “creo ser el primer inglés que ha dado a conocer a mis compatriotas el genio fecundo y el numen del incomparable Lope de Vega”.<sup>334</sup>

Baron Dillon had in this respect offered from the beginning to forward Cavanilles’ books on natural history to Banks. He furthermore offered to translate the works concerned into English for submission to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, of which he was a member.<sup>335</sup> This effort to promote Spanish literature by disseminating the writings of Cavanilles in London and Manchester did not stop here, but continued until 1789, when their correspondence eventually ceased. Dillon faithfully expounded his extensive knowledge of Spanish literature with specific comments on certain authors, such as Francisco Salinas of Burgos; or “concerning nautical art, in addition to the book of Pedro Medina in my possession”, in reference to Martín Cortés

331 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 16 September 1794: “We will have to wait until war no longer lasts forever”.

332 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from James Edward Smith to Cavanilles*. London 20 January 1803.

333 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Baron Dillon to Cavanilles*. London 2 June 1786: “many of these classic Spanish authors that you quote are quite well known to me”; “I will treat it as the most precious treasure in my library, by binding it in the English manner”.

334 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Baron Dillon to Cavanilles*. London 9 November 1785: “I believe I am the first Englishman to make known to his countrymen the fecund genius and poetic inspiration of Lope de Vega”.

335 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Baron Dillon to Cavanilles*. London 6 December 1785.

and his *Breve compendio de la esfera y de la arte de navegar*, which had been translated into English in 1561. He commented not only on bibliographical references, but also on Spanish books that he possessed, thereby giving us an idea of the contents of his collection. He also drew Cavanilles into some of his intellectual initiatives, including an “obrita en manuscrito que si Dios me da salud saldrá en invierno próximo a mi buelta de Londres, y es la vida de Don Pedro el Cruel, rey de Castilla, coetáneo y aliado de nuestro Gran Eduardo 3<sup>o</sup>.”<sup>336</sup> We know that this two-volume work was finally published in London in 1788, and that Dillon sent Cavanilles a copy “como leve tributo de mi afección a la nación española.”<sup>337</sup>

Dillon and Cavanilles had mutual friends in Madrid, such as the bookseller Gabriel de Sancha, whom Dillon constantly pestered for news of his correspondent from Valencia, who was by then in Paris, from where he sent his publications on botany to Dillon, to be disseminated in London. These included his famous *Disertaciones Botánicas*, about which Dillon commented on “la hermosura de esta gran obra en quanto a la parte typografica”, adding a note that he had arranged for their binding in accordance with Cavanilles’ instructions. As Dillon said, regarding this work: “serán el más rico tesoro de mi colección de libros (principalmente españoles)”. This final detail suggests that Dillon’s library included a section devoted to Spanish books.<sup>338</sup>

Dillon became the main London agent for Cavanilles’ works on botany, which he supplied to both Banks and Smith, as well as to other individuals. These included Alexander Aubert, an astronomer and businessman, and member of the Royal Society; and “a un amigo mío, un caballero español Don Pasqual Menza y March, un sugeto muy instruido actualmente en esta corte”,<sup>339</sup> in clear allusion to Pascual Mensa y March of Cadiz, who had, among other commercial affairs, applied for Spanish import privileges regarding “las bombas de fuego, llamadas de doble acción”, after buying one of these

336 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Baron Dillon to Cavanilles*. London 15 March 1787: “a minor work in manuscript form, which – if God gives me health – shall be out next winter upon my return from London. It concerns the life of Don Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile and ally of our great King Edward III”.

337 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Baron Dillon to Cavanilles*. London 7 October 1788: “as a modest tribute denoting my affection for the Spanish nation”.

338 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Baron Dillon to Cavanilles*. London 11 November 1788: “the beauty of this great work in terms of its typography”; “these must be the most treasured items in my collection of (mainly Spanish) books”.

339 ARJB. Legajos 1-2-3. *Letter from Baron Dillon to Cavanilles*. London 31 March 1789: “to a friend of mine, a Spanish gentleman named Don Pasqual Menza y March, a highly educated attendee of this court”.



machines from Matthew Boulton and James Watt, the inventors of the steam engine.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this long correspondence with Cavanilles. One of these is evidence of the great care with which British bibliophiles tended to their collections; binding the items in them with lavish materials. They were attuned to the acquisition of rare books and certain editions, and we also know that they were connoisseurs of typography. The possession of a set of Spanish books represented in itself an important trophy for them, and they always endeavoured to seek out the best items available on the market.

There were in fact certain books that became an absolutely vital and irreplaceable part of London's major private collections of the day. One such work was the *Políglota Complutense*, which we find in the magnificent collection of George Hibbert, a London merchant, "printed apud vellum, in blue morocco", which was auctioned for £525. Hibbert also kept an extensive collection of incunable bibles at his home in Portland Place.<sup>340</sup> A copy of the same work was also to be found in the large collection of Ralph Willett, a fellow of both the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society. His books, like those of the majority of British collectors of the day, were of an extraordinary quality; most were printed on vellum or in large folio format, and bound in morroco and Russian leather.<sup>341</sup> The Spanish books in the two catalogues of his collection that survive are all, highly exceptionally, from the eighteenth century. Most of these are translations into French, such as *Histoire des Yncas* (1737) by Garcilaso de la Vega, *Voyage de l'Amérique Méridionale* (1758) by Ulloa and Mariana's *Histoire* (1725), among others. But there were also some original Spanish editions, like *Historia de la conquista de Mexico* (1783) by Solís, the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1783) of the Academy, or Bowles' *Historia del famoso cavaliere Don Quixote de la Manca*, printed in London in 1780.<sup>342</sup> We know, thanks to the subsequent sale in 1813 of Willett's book collection by Leigh and Sotheby of the Strand, that he also acquired other Spanish works, among them the superb *Conjuración de Catilina y la Guerra de Yugurta* (1772) by Sallust, bound in "rus-sin" with "gilt leaves".<sup>343</sup>

340 *A Catalogue of the Library of George Hibbert, Esq. of Portland Place* (London, Printed by W. Nicol, 1829), p. 483.

341 William Younger Fletcher, *English book collectors* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübnet and Company, 1902), p. 147.

342 *A Catalogue of the books in the library of Ralph Willett* (London, 1790).

343 *Merly Library. A Catalogue of the well known and celebrated Library of the late Ralph Willett, Esq.* ([London, 1813]), p. 83.

This generation of bibliophiles of the 1750s, whose *raison d'être* was a love of rare books, also included Thomas Grenville and William Beckford, among others. Grenville, who was a diplomat, possessed a well-stocked collection of some twenty thousand volumes, of which around 2% were Spanish.<sup>344</sup> He acquired some of these at the beginning of the nineteenth century, including a copy of the Sallust edition printed by Ibarra, described as “a present from Hen. Williams Wynn on his return from Spain, 1809”.<sup>345</sup> He also possessed one of the very few surviving *editiones principes* of *Don Quixote*, which is now in the British Library.<sup>346</sup> Grenville, like other British collectors such as Richard Heber, lived through the cultural transition to Romanticism, which was accompanied by an undeniable interest in Spanish literature; favoured by translations such as those produced by Shelley and Southey of the works of Calderón.

If there is one thing that characterises all this generation of collectors however, it is their tradition of acquiring copies in absolutely perfect condition. The bibliophiles concerned were fully aware of this, and were more than generous with the corresponding bookplates and other signs of ownership. Proof of this can be found in the handwritten notes that Grenville left in the books that he acquired, as evidence of the knowledge that he had gained from handling such valuable library items. One such example was the outstanding specimen of an incunable in his possession entitled *arcen d'amor* (1493).<sup>347</sup>

As a collector, Grenville demonstrated his familiarity with the main Spanish genres in the shape of *Typographia española* (Madrid, 1796) by Francisco Méndez and Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana* (1783–88), and also with his acquaintance with the bookshop of Salvá on Regent Street. The latter included, his famous catalogue, certain impressions of Grenville:

The Honourable Thomas Grenville gave me [the chapbooks] of *D. Gaife-ros* and that of *Conde Claros*; both of them definitely printed before the year 1525, and I submitted three volumes for his consideration, containing at least another twenty ballads from before that date [1550] ...; M. Debure

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344 Barry Taylor, “Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) and his books”, in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library. The origins of the British Library's printed collections* (London, The British Library, 2009), p. 323.

345 Taylor, “Thomas”, p. 324.

346 Víctor Infantes, *La primera salida de “El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha”* (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1605). *La historia editorial de un libro* (Alcalá de Henares, 2013), p. 27.

347 Taylor, “Thomas Grenville”, p. 327.

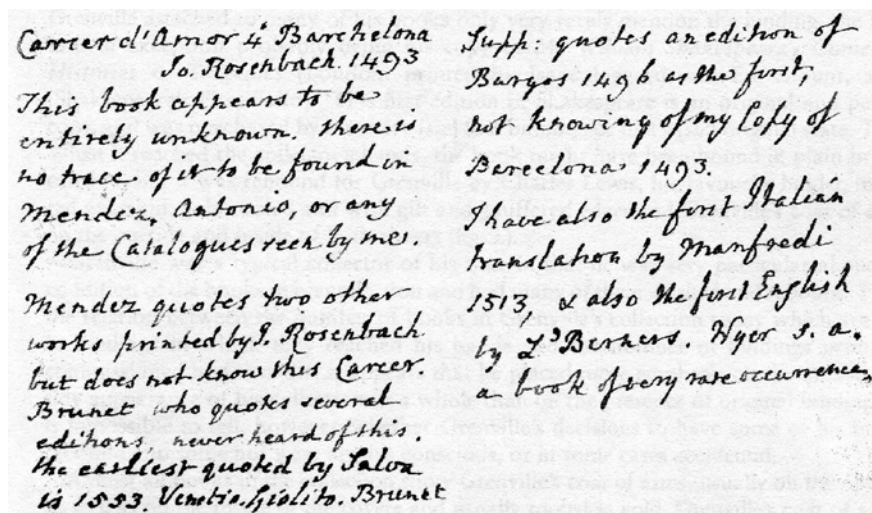


FIGURE 20 Grenville's annotations on his incunable "Carcer d'amor" (1493). Taylor, Barry, "Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) and his books", in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library. The origins of the British Library's printed collections* (London, The British Library, 2009).

owned certain items, and I also saw, in the possession of M. Turner of London, several items from the turn of the sixteenth century.<sup>348</sup>

These words confirm Grenville's interest in chapbooks. Indeed three of the thirteen volumes of his library catalogue are dedicated to such items from the sixteenth century (from before 1550), thereby indicating their importance within his collection. Specific examples include two printed items from Zaragoza (1510, 1520), and one from Seville (circa 1515).<sup>349</sup>

Grenville's library was eventually donated, in 1847, to the British Museum, which it enriched with its magnificent collection of chapbooks, along with those contributed by other outstanding collectors of the eighteenth century, such as Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809), a political dissident whose collection of Spanish works included Calderón's *Comedias* (Madrid, 1726) and ten volumes of *Comedias varias* (1638-).<sup>350</sup>

348 Antonio Rodríguez Moñino, *Diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos poéticos (siglo XVI)* (Madrid, Castalia, 1970), p. 13.

349 Henry Thomas, *Early Spanish ballads in the British Museum* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1927).

350 Geoff West, "The acquisition of Spanish chapbooks by the British Museum Library in the nineteenth century: owner, dealers and donors", in Nicolás Bas Martín and Barry Taylor

Going back to Grenville's collection, we know that he possessed such valuable items as the *Biblia Políglota Complutense*, thanks to "the great admiration which Mr. Grenville felt for Cardinal Ximenes".<sup>351</sup> Of even greater note is his copy of *Tirant lo Blanch* (1490), now preserved in the British Library. This is, along with those held by the Biblioteca Valenciana and the Hispanic Society of New York respectively, one of only three copies currently known to have survived.

The collector William Beckford did in fact also possess a copy of *Tirant*, but this was an Italian edition that had originally belonged to Demetrio Canevani, an Italian physician of the sixteenth century. The colourful life of the wealthy Beckford, who had to flee England after being accused of intimate relations with a minor, was more typical of a Casanova-like character than that of a genuine collector. The biography of the great lover nevertheless maintains that his two proclivities were totally compatible, and we can deduce that both were given free rein when he eventually reached Spain, via Portugal, in 1787. Beckford went on to become a lively part of Madrid's high society of the day, thanks to the Marchioness of Santa Cruz, who would become his mistress. The Spanish noblewoman, who was painted by Goya, maintained a curious correspondence with the Englishman even when he had left Spain, thereby leaving us with certain bibliographical details.

One of these letters addressed by the Marchioness to Beckford was accompanied by a Spanish-language version of *Gil Blas de Santillana*. We also know that Beckford indulged, during his time in Madrid and along with other pastimes, in visits to the bookshops, printing works and engravers' workshops of the capital; places which he qualified as "leurs échoppes lui paraissent misérables à côté des boutiques similaires de Londres et de Paris".<sup>352</sup> But none of this lessened his interest in Spanish culture, as confirmed by the fact that King Carlos III gave him the gift of a (probably Spanish) book during an audience in 1787. Beckford was also able to converse briefly with the king's son, the *infante* Gabriel, on the subject of book collecting.<sup>353</sup> This is only speculation,

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(eds.), *El libro español en Londres. La visión de España en Inglaterra (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Valencia, Universitat de València, 2016), pp. 61–81.

351 Fletcher, *English book collectors*, p. 195.

352 Roger Kann, "Marquise de Santa Cruz. Lettres d'amour à William Beckford", in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth century*, 341 (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 1996), p. 247: "They find their stalls to be shabby, next to similar *boutiques* in London and Paris".

353 Arnold Hunt, "Libraries in the Archives. Researching provenance in the British Library invoices", in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, *Libraries within the Library* (London, British Library, 2009), p. 377.

but the book in question could well have been *Conjuración de Catilina y la guerra de Yugurta* (1772), in whose production the young crown prince had collaborated. It also happened to be one of the most sumptuous editions of eighteenth-century Spain.

Beckford's Spanish cultural baggage ended up on the shelves of his library at Fonthill Abbey in Wiltshire. He was particularly interested in the Spain of a previous age and its devotion to the saints and the Virgin Mary, along with its tradition of venerating pretty women, picaresque rogues and their adventures and misadventures.<sup>354</sup> We have some knowledge of the Spanish books that Beckford possessed, thanks to the auction of his collection held by Sotheby's in the nineteenth century. These included Ocampo's *Coronica de España* (1604), which the catalogue described as "Extremely rare";<sup>355</sup> the *Segunda parte de Orlando* (1557), "an excessively rare metrical Romance of chivalry"; the *Romances nuevamente sacados de las Historias antiguas de la Cronica de España* (1551) by Sepúlveda; *Historia de la conquista de Mexico* (1684) by Solís; and of course Cervantes, with a copy of *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1781). Certain Spanish manuscripts also figured in Beckford's collection. These included Porreno's *Historia del Santo Rey Don Alonso IX el Bueno y Noble*, "with 45 coats of arms of spanish nobility emblazoned in their proper colours, brown morocco, gold tooling, with arms of Dona Ana de Austria, abbadesa perpetua de las Huelgas de Burgos, to whom the work is dedicated, in gold on sides folio".<sup>356</sup> One thing that all these books and manuscripts had in common was their extraordinary state of conservation and the quality of their bindings, mostly morroco.

The early nineteenth century, the year 1812 to be precise, also saw the auction of another important British bibliophile of the previous century: the Duke of Roxburghe. This auction generated a huge amount of expectation in London, thanks to the sheer volume (more than ten thousand books) and quality of the collection. Incunables, books printed by Caxton, and editions of Shakespeare all passed before the attentive gaze of Nicol, bookseller and agent by Royal appointment to George III.<sup>357</sup> The auction, which required no fewer than forty sessions, was organised with military precision, and open solely to those possessing a catalogue. Each session was dedicated to a different type of book. Session number 36, held on Saturday 27 June, was thus the venue for the

354 Fumaroli, *Cuando Europa hablaba francés*, p. 391.

355 *Catalogue of the third portion of the Beckford Library, removed from Hamilton Palace* ([London, 1883]), p. 13.

356 *Catalogue of the third portion*, p. 66.

357 De Ricci, *English Collectors*, p. 71.

sale of the Spanish and Italian books in the collection, organised into lots 8,134 to 8,319.<sup>358</sup>

The preface to the auction catalogue indicated that Roxburghe, “idolized the talents of Shakespeare and Cervantes, and collected everything that could illustrate their works”.<sup>359</sup> It also makes reference to his library in London, which contained a magnificent collection of books of chivalry, some of which would certainly have been Spanish. Roxburghe’s collection also contained books on philology, including *Origen de la lengua castellana* (1606) by Aldrete, which was acquired by Dr. Thomas Wilbraham, according to a note in the margin of the catalogue. Other items on the list included *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611) by Covarrubias, along with Oudin’s *Diálogos* (1675) and *Tesoro español y francés* (1675). The novels included various translations of *Don Quixote* and other works by Cervantes, along with a Spanish edition of the *Vida y hechos de Don Quixote de la Mancha*, printed in Antwerp in 1673. There was also an edition of *Guzmán de Alfarache* from 1681, likewise printed in Antwerp; plus the works of Quevedo (1660, in four volumes), Garcilaso de la Vega (1622), and Gracián (1669). The latter were acquired by a bookseller named “Payne” (i.e. Thomas or Oliver), specialising in Spanish books. The history section actually contained the usual classics, such as an original Spanish edition of Mariana’s *Historia de España* (1608), along with a version in Latin (1592), which was acquired by the famous bookseller Longman. His name is likewise linked to other major purchases of books on Spanish history contained in the Roxburghe catalogue, such as Father Bleda’s well-known *Cronica de los moros de España* (Valencia, 1618). We should not forget that the house of Longman also showed a certain interest in Spanish literature, with the purchase of some of the English editions of *Don Quixote*; specifically the 1749 edition by “the late Mr. Motteux, and in a new edition, translated by Smollett, which was printed in 1770”.<sup>360</sup>

The list of buyers of Spanish books from the Duke of Roxburghe’s collection included such famous names of the London book trade as James Ridgway (1755–1838), Nicol, Dibdin the bibliographer and the collector Heber, to name just a few. Book enthusiasts would congregate at the many auctions held in London in the early 1800s to dispose of the great library collections of the previous century. These included, just one year after the Roxburghe sale, the auction of the *Bibliotheca Stanleiana*, named in honour of its owner, a colonel

358 *A Catalogue of the library of the late John Duke of Roxburghe, arranged by G. and W. Nicol* (London, Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, 1812), p. xxiii.

359 *A Catalogue of the library*, p. 4.

360 Asa Briggs, *A history of Longmans and their books 1724–1990. Longevity and publishing* (London, The British Library, 2008), p. 67.

Stanley, and described as follows: "the selection contains all his rare Italian and Spanish poetry, novels and romances".<sup>361</sup>

The Spanish part of Stanley's collection was indeed of considerable quality. His tastes extended to both cultured literature and more popular works, as evidenced by the abundant presence of romances and ballads that included *Cancionero general* (1557), described by the catalogue as "very rare"; and the *Romancero general* (Medina del Campo, 1602), "unusually rare". The novels in the collection included an ample presence of picaresque literature, headed by a first edition of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, published in Burgos in 1554. It is modestly described as "rare", despite being a bibliographical treasure not found in any other British book collection. There were also various editions of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, *Diana* (1603) by Montemayor, *Diana* (1611, 1613, 1739, 1778) by Gil Polo, and a remarkable selection of books of chivalry that included *Palmerín de Oliva* (1534), *El Cavallero Primaleón* (1534), *Palmerín de Inglaterra* (1574) and *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros* (1617); "the only complete edition of this rare and excellent romance".<sup>362</sup> This latter group naturally included two editions of *Tirant lo Blanch* and no fewer than seven of *Don Quixote*; one of them a first edition printed in Madrid in 1605, plus a second edition from 1608 and Ibarra's illustrated version of 1780.

This mention of a first edition of *Don Quixote* is one of just two known to date from the turn of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, uttered by those specialised in hunting down this elusive item of literature. The other one coincides with the 1764 sale of the book collection of a British antiquarian named Clement Cottrell Dormer, which is the first documented mention of the existence of the two editions concerned (one in quarto format and the other in octavo).<sup>363</sup> The second one is precisely that of Colonel Stanley, which apparently went under the hammer for £42, although it is not clear whether it was a true *princeps* or a "mere" first edition.<sup>364</sup> We find subsequent references to a first edition in some of the catalogues of British collectors of the turn of the nineteenth century, such as that of James Edwards, a bookbinder and bookseller whose shop on Pall Mall supposedly had a "first edition" of *Don Quixote* printed in Madrid in 1605. It appears, with the number 180, in the catalogue of a sale held in 1815.<sup>365</sup> A few years later, in 1829, the sale catalogue for

361 *Bibliotheca Stanleiana. A splendid selection of rare and fine books from the distinguished library of Colonel Stanley* ([London, 1813]).

362 *Bibliotheca Stanleiana*, p. 43.

363 Infantes, *La primera*, p. 23.

364 Infantes, *La primera*, p. 24.

365 *A Catalogue of the valuable library of James Edwards, Esq* ([London, 1815]), p. 8.

the collection of the above-mentioned bibliophile George Hibbert appeared to contain another copy in the shape of the first edition of the “second part”. It was acquired by the London bookseller Thomas Payne for £15.15s.- (fifteen pounds and fifteen shillings).<sup>366</sup> This edition is also mentioned, along with the Madrid editions of 1608 and 1615, in the sale of the library of Richard Heber, a famous collector and British parliamentarian, which took place between 1834 and 1836.<sup>367</sup>

The rare items in Stanley’s library were complemented by an attractive set of Spanish travel books. These included Jorge Juan y Ulloa’s *Relación histórica del viaje a la America meridional* (1748) and an even rarer work by a Jesuit named Cristóbal de Acuña: *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran río de las Amazonas* (1641) and – described as “extremely rare” – *Relación del viaje de los capitanes Bartolomé García de Nodal, y Gonçalo de Nodal al descubrimiento del estrecho nuevo de S. Vicente* (1621). This course plotted by the Nodal brothers in fact remained for many decades the only help available to those intending to navigate the area bounded by the Straits of Magellan and Patagonia.<sup>368</sup>

The *Bibliotheca Stanleiana* amounts to something of a reference model when it comes to speaking of British collectors of Spanish books in the eighteenth century. It contained a set of first editions, including various versions of *Don Quixote*, which made it highly exceptional. The catalogue of the books concerned mentions, unlike others of the time, the degree of rarity of each edition, which was normally “very rare”. This rarity combines with the extraordinary quality of the specimens, which were printed on “large paper”, and that of their covers, mainly morroco black, blue, red and yellow, supplied by such prominent bookbinders as Henry Walther and Roger Payne, among others. But perhaps what most draws our attention to this collection is its inclusion of several editions of the same book, a quite frequent practice of the great collectors of the beginning of nineteenth century; as was the case of Salvá, who said that the bibliophile’s highest objective was to possess several editions of the same work. Heber, for example, “acumulaba, una docena si podía de la misma edición, capricho que también lo era de [Bartolomé] Gallardo”.<sup>369</sup>

Richard Heber’s “book madness”, to paraphrase Dibdin, was beyond any doubt, although Salvá said of him that he was “sin disputa alguna la persona

<sup>366</sup> Infantes, *La primera*, p. 26.

<sup>367</sup> Infantes, *La primera*, p. 26.

<sup>368</sup> Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, *La cartografía náutica española en los siglos XIV, XV y XVI* (Madrid, CSIC, 1994), p. 3.

<sup>369</sup> Pedro Salvá, *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá*. T. I (Valencia, 1872), p. xv: “accumulated a dozen, if he could, of the same edition, a whim that he shared with [Bartolomé] Gallardo”.



que ha reunido el mayor número de libros raros españoles".<sup>370</sup> Gallardo described him as the greatest bibliophile of all time, after Fernando Colón.<sup>371</sup> His immense collection of between 200,000 and 300,000 books, along with almost two thousand manuscripts, was of such a calibre that it required eight houses to keep it in, in different European cities, but mainly in London. The auction held in 1835 was no less spectacular, requiring a thirteen-volume catalogue.<sup>372</sup>

Heber's Spanish collection was undoubtedly the best of all those that existed in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He had acquired a large number of these books from other collections, such as that of Stanley, thereby showing how the specimens concerned tended to pass from one collector to another. What is certain is that the natural fate of these collections was to be sold at public auction, where other collectors, and also prominent booksellers, were likely to congregate. Indeed we notice this in the sale of Heber's collection of Spanish books, which attracted the usual group of booksellers in the shape of Thomas Payne, Thomas Thorpe and Henry George Bohn, among others.

They all bid for the Spanish books concerned not so much for their quantity as for their extraordinary quality. Seen *grosso modo*, Heber's various libraries housed hundreds, if not thousands, of editions of Spanish books. Items from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries predominate, with particular reference to literature – including various versions of the same work, such as *Amadís*, of which there were dozens of editions, thereby confirming his status as a bibliophile without equal. These items included some authentic literary treasures, some of them possibly unique, turning Heber's Spanish collection into a library like no other.

The long list of items includes numerous editions of *La Celestina*, *Guzman de Alfarache*, *Lazarillo*, the aforementioned *princeps* of *Don Quixote*, first editions of Nebrija and Ramon Llull, innumerable comedies and collections of romances and the most representative examples of the literature of chivalry, resulting in a collection that was the object of desire of bibliophiles from both Spain (e.g. Salvá) and elsewhere in Europe. The sale of Heber's collection put an end to the great generation of eighteenth-century collectors, which had begun with the Harleys and which would now conclude with the *Bibliotheca Heberiana*.

370 Salvá, *Catálogo*, p. x: "without any dispute whatsoever, the person who has brought together the largest number of rare Spanish books".

371 Rodríguez Moñino, *Diccionario*, p. 55.

372 De Ricci, *English Collectors*, p. 103.

TABLE 7 *Heber's bibliographical treasures.*

Author	Title	Edition
Diego de Valera	<i>Coronica de España</i> <sup>a</sup>	Burgos, Frederico de Basilea, 1487. [Extremely rare].
Joanot Martotell	<i>Tirant lo Blanch</i> <sup>b</sup>	Valencia, 1490 [No other copy is known to exist in Spain].
	<i>Llibre del Consolat</i> <sup>c</sup>	Barcelona, ca. 1490 [This is probably the first edition of the celebrated Code of marine laws in the Provençal dialect. Excessively rare].
Colón	<i>Epistola Christofori Colom, cui etas nostra multum debet, de Insulis Indiae supra Gangem nuper inventis</i> <sup>d</sup>	1493 [This is the first account ever published of the discovery of America].
Enrique de Villena	<i>Les doze trabajos de Ercules compilados por Don Enrique de Villena</i> <sup>e</sup>	Burgos, por Juan de Burgos, 1499.
Hernando del Pulgar	<i>Los claros varones de España fecho por Hernando del Pulgar, dirigido a la reyna nostra sennora</i> <sup>f</sup>	Sevilla, por Stanislao Polono, 1500. [Extremely rare].
Emanuelis Chrysolorae	<i>Grammatica graece et latine</i> <sup>g</sup>	Compluti, Academia ab Arnaldo Guillelmo Brocario, 1514. [An extremely rare book, printed with the Greek characters used in the celebrated Polyglott of Alcala].
	<i>Amadís de Gaula</i> <sup>h</sup>	1519 [This is the earliest Spanish edition of the Amadís de Gaula on record].

Author	Title	Edition
Casiodoro de la Reina	<i>Biblia trasladada en español</i> [Better known as the <i>Biblia del oso</i> ] <sup>i</sup>	Basilea, 1569

- a *Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the Library of the late Richard Heber, Esq. Part the first* ([London, 1834]), ref. n<sup>o</sup>. 1512.
- b *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup> 3920; Arnold Hunt, "Bibliotheca Heberiana", in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, *Antiquaries, book collectors and the circles of learning* (Winchester, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1996), p. 90. Heber paid 300 guineas for this work at Rich's auction house in 1826, and sold it again in 1835 for £105.
- c *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup> 3629.
- d *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup> 837.
- e *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup>. 1781.
- f *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup> 5770.
- g *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup>. 1378.
- h *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup>. 201.
- i *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Ref. n<sup>o</sup>. 627.

One thing that strongly draws our attention to the British collectors of the time (with the notable exception of Heber) is the scant presence of Spanish incunables in their respective libraries. This tends to contradict the basic principles of the British book collector, whereby incunables constituted the cornerstone of any library of note. This leads us to ask ourselves the reason for this absence. Why were the British book collectors of the eighteenth century apparently not all that interested in Spanish incunables, and why was their presence so scarce in comparison to other countries or eras?

Before responding to this question, or attempting to do so, we need to put ourselves in the shoes of a British collector of the day. Purchases clearly needed to be based on what information existed, and the main (and perhaps the only) sources of such information, which might include details of published incunables, were the corresponding catalogues and bibliographies. We can distinguish between two types of reference source in this respect: Spanish bibliographies like that of Nicolás Antonio, which is one of the very few that we know were a fixture of certain English libraries, and the bibliographies of the printing trade; a resource which circulated throughout eighteenth-century Europe, and especially London.

One of the Spanish bibliographies that circulated by virtue of its own merits in the London of the Enlightenment was indeed that of Nicolás Antonio; both in its original Roman edition of the late 1600s and the later version issued by Pérez Bayer in the following century. Other reference sources, such as Francisco Méndez's *Typographia española* were barely known, given its lateness of publication (1796) in this particular case, resulting in Heber alone demonstrating any great knowledge of this work, which he mentions on numerous occasions. The great advantage of Nicolás Antonio's bibliography, for the British collector, was that it was written in Latin. It also contained references to various incunables. Nevertheless, and this brings us on to factors that explain the lack of Spanish incunables in British book collections of the day, a brief glance at those that are listed reveals an absence of the classic texts which were of most interest to the noble British collectors concerned. Just 8% of the Spanish incunables listed fulfilled these criteria.<sup>373</sup> Evidence of this can be seen in the above-mentioned total of twenty-two Spanish incunables belonging to Thomas Grenville that ended up in the British Library. Only one of these, *Kempis*, was a "classic", and it was in any case written in the Valencian language.<sup>374</sup> This is borne out by the evidence of the almost eighty Valencian incunables catalogued, of which just thirty are in Latin and fifty in Valencian; and practically none of them are classic texts.<sup>375</sup>

Apart from the above reference sources and catalogues, Grenville and other collectors like Heber also made extensive use of their respective networks of contacts and agents to obtain accurate information on Spanish incunables. Lady Holland became, thanks to her travels in Spain, Grenville's ideal intermediary in this respect. Grenville's other agents, such as Thomas Payne of Payne & Foss's bookshop on Pall Mall, ensured that the collector was kept duly informed of European incunables.

The bibliographies already mentioned were available alongside other printing-trade reference works that circulated in eighteenth-century Britain. A look at some of them shows us the low relative importance of Spanish

373 Kristian Jensen, "Spanish Incunabula in the Twentieth century: a view from the British Library", in Pedro M. Cátedra and M<sup>a</sup> Luisa López-Vidriero, *El Libro antiguo español VI. De libros, librerías, imprentas y lectores* (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), p. 157.

374 Barry Taylor, "Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) y la Bibliofilia hispánica", in Pablo Andrés Escapa (ed.), *Bibliofilia y nacionalismo. Nueve ensayos sobre Coleccionismo y las artes contemporáneas del libro* (Salamanca, SEMYR (Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas), 2011), p. 316. The work by Kempis concerned is *Gerson del menyspreu del mon* (Valencia, Spindeler, 1491).

375 Manuel Bas Carbonell, Historia de los incunables valencianos, in *Bibliofilia antigua I* (Valencia, Vicent García Editores, 1992).

incunables. The first of them, present in most English libraries of the day, is Prosper Marchand's *Historie de l'origine et des premiers progres de l'imprimerie* (1740), which mentions just twelve Spanish incunables. *Annales Typographici* (1719) by Michel Maittaire, a French Huguenot refugee in England, the later volumes of which were printed in London, was more influential in this respect. It mentions a total of forty-two Spanish incunables. We finally have the work of a Dutchman, Gerard Meerman, whose *Origines typographicae* (1765) surprisingly mentions just one Spanish incunable.

"Surprisingly" because the information on Spanish incunables that was included in Meerman's work had been supplied to him by two individuals: Gregorio Mayans of Valencia, whose library contained several such incunables; and a bibliophile named Fernando de Velasco, who also had a good collection of books dating from before the year 1500. Mayans' interest in incunables was in fact a long-standing affair, and his own collection, part of which was listed in *Specimen bibliothecae hispano-maiansianae* (1753), included various such early examples of the printer's art.<sup>376</sup> This is one work that does not appear in any of the catalogues of the great British book collectors, be they Sunderland, Sloane, Grenville or Heber, to name a few. Just a few years later, in 1758, Mayans wrote a long letter to Meerman, giving him extensive information on certain Spanish incunables.<sup>377</sup> Their collaboration, which continued until Mayans' death, ensured that Mayans sent Meerman regular news on recently discovered Spanish incunables, along with information on the origins of the paper used and the origins of printing. This material was published in 1767.

We can draw various conclusions from all this. The first of these, as already mentioned, is the lack of Spanish incunables in Latin, along with an absence of classical texts; particularly those dealing with philosophy and theology.<sup>378</sup> The second one is that other collectors, with the exception of Heber, had barely any bibliographical works of reference in their libraries from which to obtain information on Spanish incunables. This shows a certain lack of skill in the methodical art of librarianship, which made it difficult to acquire works of which the collector was unaware. There is thus a direct relationship between the possession of bibliographical works of reference and a presence of Spanish incunables, except – once again – in Heber's case. He was not, despite possessing

376 Antonio Mestre Sanchis, *Los ilustrados, el origen de la imprenta y el Catálogo de incunables españoles* (Valencia, Biblioteca Valenciana, 2007), p. 12.

377 Mestre Sanchis, *Los ilustrados*, pp. 77–192. Letter from Mayans to Meerman, 22 April 1758.

378 Barry Taylor, "Spanish Incunabula in the British Library: acquisitions to 1900", in Pedro Catedra and María Luisa López-Vidriero (dir.), *El Libro antiguo español VI. De libros, librerías, imprentas y lectores* (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), p. 425.

a wide range of such reference material, the biggest collector of Spanish incunables. Grenville on the other hand, who had no such reference sources to call on, was in fact the collector with most incunables in his possession, perhaps because his lack of bibliographies was compensated for by the wisdom of his agents, the booksellers Payne & Foss.

Another handicap that all these collectors faced, when it came to Spanish incunables, was their high prices. In fact, “vulgar” editions printed in languages like Spanish came to be more expensive than the Latin originals. This helps to explain why major acquisitions of Spanish incunables by British collectors and institutions had to wait until the early nineteenth century, when their price began to fall as a result of such events as the Peninsular War, which saw the arrival in London of Spanish liberals such as the Salvá family; the sale of major collections (like those of Mayans), and the ecclesiastical confiscations of Mendizábal, which flooded the market with rare Spanish books. It was from this time onwards that institutions like the British Library and the Bodleian Library substantially increased their stocks of Spanish incunables.<sup>379</sup>

TABLE 8     *Spanish incunables in British collections of the eighteenth century.*

Collector	Number of Spanish incunables	Surviving reference sources that mention Spanish incunables
Sunderland	0	Maittaire (42)
Hans Sloane	2	N. Antonio
Grenville	22	None
Heber	5	Maittaire Marchand (12) Meerman (1) N. Antonio

379 Alan Coates and Kristian Jensen and Cristina Dondi and Bettina Wagner and Helen Dixon (ed.), *A Catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), p. LVII; Kristian Jensen. “Creating a better past: collectors of Incunabula in the late Eighteenth century”, in Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (ed.), *Early printed books as material objects* (Berlin, De Gruyter Saur, 2010), p. 281. The Bodleian started to acquire incunables in 1790–1791.

## 2.5 The Traces of Spanish Books in London: The Booksellers

The bookish passion of British collectors would not have been possible without the help of London's booksellers, who were highly skilled at gauging the state of the market and adapting to their clients' tastes. The opening words of this section devoted to the booksellers of London refers to those who were involved, to some extent or other, in the business of Spanish literature. The research on this subject has entailed an examination of a total of sixty booksellers' catalogues, filtered using the database of the British Library and the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), in a quest that has of course been complemented, either directly or indirectly, by other sources of bibliographic reference.

The sample, despite being extensive, is logically not definitive, although it does demonstrate some of the key tendencies that help us to understand the acquisition and enjoyment of Spanish books in eighteenth-century London. The starting point in this respect has been to select only Spanish books in the original language, and not translations, as this would go way beyond the objective of this project. The total sample contains approximately three thousand specifically identified books, of which nearly 1% are from the fifteenth century, 21% from the sixteenth century, 55% from the seventeenth century and 23% from the eighteenth century. One conclusion we quickly draw is that the bookshops of Britain's capital city tended to favour literature from the Spanish Golden Age. Classified by size, 31% of the total corresponds to folio, 34% to quarto and the remaining 34% to octavo and duodecimo editions. On examining the results, everything seems to indicate that Spanish literature was, for the typical British reader of the time, a literature of pleasure and escapism, almost like a modern paperback in fact, rather than "serious" reading matter.

It therefore comes as no surprise to find that 65% of the Spanish items sold by the booksellers of London were in a corresponding pocket-sized format. In fact, the term "pocket book" almost became a synonym of "book from Spain" in eighteenth-century London. Fletcher Gyles was the only bookseller to deal in more Spanish books in folio format than the reduced size in question.

In geographical terms, the London booksellers specialising in Spanish books tended to be concentrated around Fleet Street and Stationers' Hall near the Strand, which was home to some of London's most important bookshops. The data show a notable tendency to specialise on the part of a small group of booksellers. Indeed almost 70% of all the Spanish books sold appear to be associated with just five bookshops, with one in particular, that of Benjamin White, accounting for 25% of the overall total. Most of them stood in the area around Paternoster Row and the Strand, which had, by the mid-eighteenth century, taken over from the area of St Paul's Cathedral as the nerve centre of

London's book trade.<sup>380</sup> The narrow alleyways and cramped properties of this district housed an extended community of booksellers, printers, bookbinders and engravers, along with intellectuals like Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke, who were both founder members, among others, of the famous Literary Club.<sup>381</sup> A bookseller in Hanoverian London needed to be a public figure in very close contact with the writers, scientists and other intellectuals of the day. Authors were in turn enormously dependent on the booksellers, who often forced them to submit to their dictates for commercial reasons.<sup>382</sup>

The booksellers of London, like their counterparts in Paris, played an important part in the life of the country as a whole. Britain's entire book trade at the turn of the eighteenth century was controlled by just over a hundred London booksellers;<sup>383</sup> a manifestation of how the centralism of the capital city sometimes subjugated the book trade of the provinces. Good evidence of this is provided by their catalogues, which shows how eighteenth-century booksellers gravitated towards London and other main cities. The traditional catalogues of the booksellers concerned now included "printed proposals", or the latest information on new books.<sup>384</sup> This pioneering new format began to be used by

TABLE 9 *The main London booksellers with stocks of Spanish literature.*

Bookseller	Total % of Spanish books	Location
B. White	23.5%	Fleet Street
F. Gyles	13%	Holborn
T. Payne	11%	Stationers' Hall
S. Baker	10%	Stationers' Hall
S. Paterson	8%	Stationers' Hall
T. Wilcox	4.7%	Stationers' Hall
C. Bateman	4.5%	Paternoster Row

380 James Raven, *Bookscape. Geographies of printing and publishing in London before 1800* (London, The British Library, 2014), p. 60.

381 Raven, *Bookscape*, p. 120.

382 Christopher Flint, *The appearance of print in Eighteenth-century fiction* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 33.

383 Mark Rose, "Copyright, authors and censorship", in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the book in Britain. Vol. v. 1695–1830* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 120.

384 Raven, "The book as a commodity", p. 108.



booksellers such as Thomas Payne and Daniel Browne, both of whom carried considerable stocks of Spanish items.

But no supplier of Spanish literature could stand comparison to Benjamin White, a bookseller of 63, Fleet Street. His shop, which was one of the city's most respected establishments of its type, boasted that "stock was large and of the best books".<sup>385</sup> These stocks included Spanish books, of which he possessed the greatest number existing anywhere in London. This inevitably brings us to ask why this should be so. The question has only recently been solved. It turns out that White maintained a close relationship with the Madrid printer Gabriel de Sancha, son of the famous bookseller and publisher Antonio de Sancha.<sup>386</sup> Their friendship began in June 1784 when Gabriel came to London, where he remained for three months. He established a connection with another important bookseller of the time, Thomas Payne, who likewise carried a considerable stock of Spanish books.<sup>387</sup> White and Payne then jointly became Sancha's key commercial contacts in London.<sup>388</sup> The stocks of Spanish items in both of their bookshops grew considerably after Sancha's visit to London.

White also happened to be one of the main suppliers of books, in English and French in this case, to Jovellanos during his years of exile in Gijón. This port in the Spanish region of Asturias played a privileged role in terms of maritime links with Britain. Jovellanos' notes include the comment, "Reconocimiento de cuatro Catálogos de libros de Londres, para escoger para el Instituto y para mí. ¡Ojalá estuviera rico uno y otro bolsillo! Por la tarde largo paseo; por la noche repaso del primer Catálogo".<sup>389</sup> On other occasions, the illustrious Asturian writer benefited from the mediation of his friend Alexander Jardine, the British consul in Corunna, to arrange for shipments of books from White.<sup>390</sup> The first question that arises in this respect is whether these book imports were

385 Thomas Rees, *Reminiscences of literary London from 1779 to 1853* (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1896), p. 105.

386 Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, "Antonio y Gabriel de Sancha, libreros de la Ilustración, y sus relaciones comerciales con Inglaterra", *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, XCI, numbers 9–10 (2014).

387 Sánchez Espinosa, "Antonio y Gabriel de Sancha", p. 231.

388 Sánchez Espinosa, "Antonio y Gabriel de Sancha", p. 233.

389 Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, "An ilustrado in his province: Jovellanos in Asturias", in Richard Butterwick and Simon Savies and Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa (ed.), *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2008), p. 195: "Recognition of four catalogues of London books to choose from for the Institute and me. Would that one or the other of my pockets were replete! I spend the long afternoon walking; by night I peruse the first catalogue".

390 Sánchez Espinosa, "An ilustrado in his province", p. 195.

exchange for exports of Spanish books, or at least information on the same, for the booksellers concerned, given that this tended to be the *modus operandi* of British booksellers of the day.

The earliest surviving edition of White's catalogue, from 1768, creates less doubt in this respect, in that it contains almost sixty Spanish books. Items that stand out include editions of the most important authors of the Spanish Golden Age, such as Góngora, Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Boscán and, of course, Cervantes. White's carefully selected list in this respect was headed by two copies of Tonson's 1738 edition of *Don Quixote*, one with "estampas bellísimas, elegantemente ligado"; and the other "ligado in Russ.", i.e. parchment or Russian leather.<sup>391</sup>

White's next catalogue would not appear for another ten years, by which time he had begun to work for a respectable publisher and bookseller named John Whiston, whose Horace's Head establishment stood between Fleet Street and the Strand. The title page of this edition of the catalogue curiously includes just one Spanish book: Juan y Ulloa's *Viage y Observaciones*, in clear allusion to *Viage a la América meridional* (1748) and *Observaciones astronómicas* (1748). In fact, of all the London booksellers with Spanish items in stock, White possessed the largest number of then-contemporary books. Almost half of the Spanish books in his catalogues were from the eighteenth century. Works by Campomanes, Uztariz and Flórez, along with Carteret's 1738 edition of *Don Quixote*, all appeared in his catalogues, including that of 1778.

Sancha the Madrid bookseller evidently had much to do with this enterprise. The above list of authors also includes figures like Mayans, who wrote to Sancha to ask him to send various copies of his *Filosofía moral* and *Instituciones morales* to London to be exchanged for English books. He suggested that he contact a merchant named Mariano Reluz, then residing in London, who "tiene excelentes libros".<sup>392</sup> We know now that the Spaniard concerned was in fact an impostor named Asso, a former Carmelite monk who had fled to London. He then asked Mayans to supply literary ideas that he might put into practice in his new home city. The reply came in the form of various packets of Spanish books containing such items as *Gramática*, *Rhetorica*, *Elche*, "by his brother", (presumably Juan Antonio) and other similar items for his consideration.<sup>393</sup>

391 *A Catalogue of large valuable, and curious collection of books, in all languages, and in every branch of literature* ([London, 1768]), p. 73: "beautifully printed and elegantly bound".

392 *Epistolario XII, Mayans y los libreros*. Estudio preliminar de A. Mestre Sanchis (Oliva, Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1993), p. 560. Letter from Mayans to A. Sancha, 21 June 1777.

393 *Epistolario XVI, Mayans y los altos cuadros de la magistratura y administración borbónica, 3, Fernando José de Velasco Ceballos (1753–1781)*. Estudio preliminar de A. Mestre Sanchis

The books concerned almost certainly reached London from Madrid via Cadiz, after a journey of about six months' duration.<sup>394</sup> This journey tended to be a two-way trip, following the usual eighteenth-century practice, as transactions between booksellers and intellectuals involved both imports and exports, i.e. an exchange of books. This is evident in the stock of English books held by Sancha, and also in the items printed in London that were to be found in Mayans' library, some of which were actually Spanish, having been included in the *Index* of forbidden books of 1790.<sup>395</sup> Spanish booksellers did not engage much in the import trade, as evidenced by the scant presence of English items in the country's bookshops.<sup>396</sup>

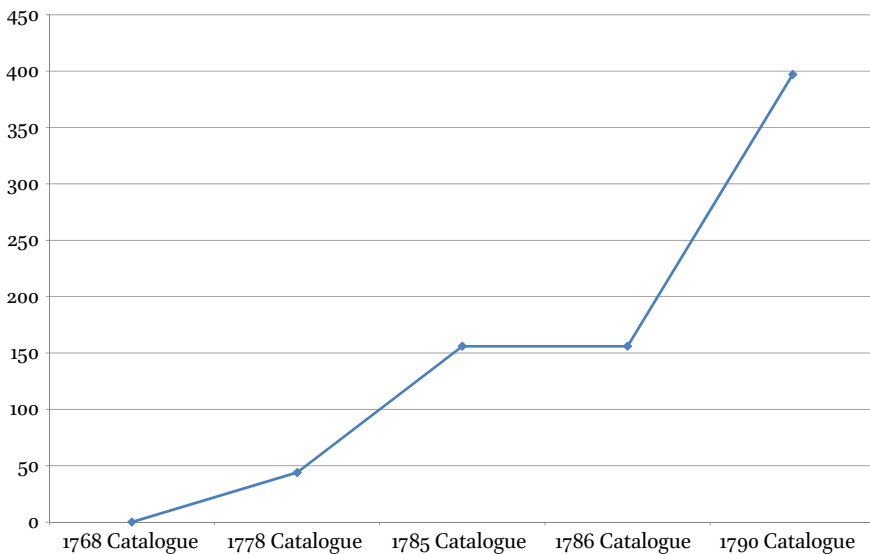


FIGURE 21 *White's bookshop: Spanish books.*

(Oliva, Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1998), p. 558. Letter from Mayans to F. Velasco, 28 June 1777.

394 *Epistolario* XVI, p. 239.

395 Antonio Astorgano Abajo, "La venta de los libros prohibidos de la Biblioteca Mayansiana (1801)", in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gregorio Mayans: Valencia-Oliva, 6 al 8 de mayo de 1999* (Oliva, Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1999). This refers specifically to the *Fácil y corto método o introducción para aprender los rudimentos de la Lengua castellana* (Londres, 1755).

396 Ofelia Rey Castelao, "La influencia inglesa en la España de fines del siglo XVIII a través de las bibliotecas", in Pablo de la Cruz Díaz and Fernando Luis Corral and Iñaki Martín

As the years passed, White's catalogues began to contain the best editions of the Spanish Enlightenment. These included Ibarra's 1780 edition of *Don Quixote, Conjuración de Catilina* (1772), "liber rariss. et elegantiss. cum fig."<sup>397</sup> the *Diccionario de la Real Academia* (1783), *Viage de España* (1776), by Ponz, and the complete works of Feijoo and Masdeu, among others.

White's bookshop was very near to that of Thomas Payne, which stood in the area of St Martin's church. "Honest Tom Payne" was in the book trade for four decades. He worked his way up from apprentice to his brother Oliver Payne,<sup>398</sup> whose catalogues of 1731 and 1736 contain various Spanish titles, mainly from the Golden Age. As with White, Sancha's arrival in London marked a watershed in the presence of Spanish books in Payne's catalogue. Indeed his catalogues of 1748 and 1749 contain hardly any Spanish items. This tendency would not change until 1781, when the catalogue of that year showed a rising trend that would continue until his death.

Payne also sold entire stocks containing Spanish books, including those of Ralph Thoresby "and of several other Libraries". His catalogue contained some of the most representative names of the Spanish Golden Age, such as Lope de Vega, Cervantes and Calderón.<sup>399</sup> The dramatic works of the latter tended not to have much of a presence in the book catalogues of eighteenth-century Britain, despite his English-influenced pieces like *Amor, honor y poder* (1623), and the fact that *La dama duende* began to be performed on the London stage from 1716 onwards.<sup>400</sup>

The vast majority of the Spanish books sold by Payne were items in pocket-book format from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most significant titles in this respect include *El Quijote* (Carteret's 1738 edition), *Quijote* (Ibarra's, of 1780) and *Salustio* (1772), from the same Madrid printer; along with Jorge Juan y Ulloa's *Viage* (1748), *Teatro crítico* (1765) by Feijoo and an edition of the so-called *Biblia del Cántaro* (1602) by Cipriano de Valera.

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Viso (eds.), *El Historiador y la sociedad. Homenaje al profesor José M<sup>a</sup> Mínguez* (Salamanca, Universidad, 2013), pp. 216–218.

397 *A Catalogue of a valuable and extensive collection of books ... including the entire libraries of Francis William Skipwith* ([London, 1785]), p. 63.

398 H.R. Plomer and G.H. Bushnell and E.R. Dix, *Dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1932), p. 195.

399 *A Catalogue of twenty thousand volumes, including the Library of the late eminent Mr. Ralph Thoresby* ([London, 1764]), p. 64.

400 Alfredo Moro Martín and Adrián J. Saéz, "Calderón en Inglaterra (siglos XVII–XIX): historia y razones de un olvido", in José Checa Beltrán (ed.), *La cultura española en la Europa romántica* (Madrid, Visor, 2015), p. 159.

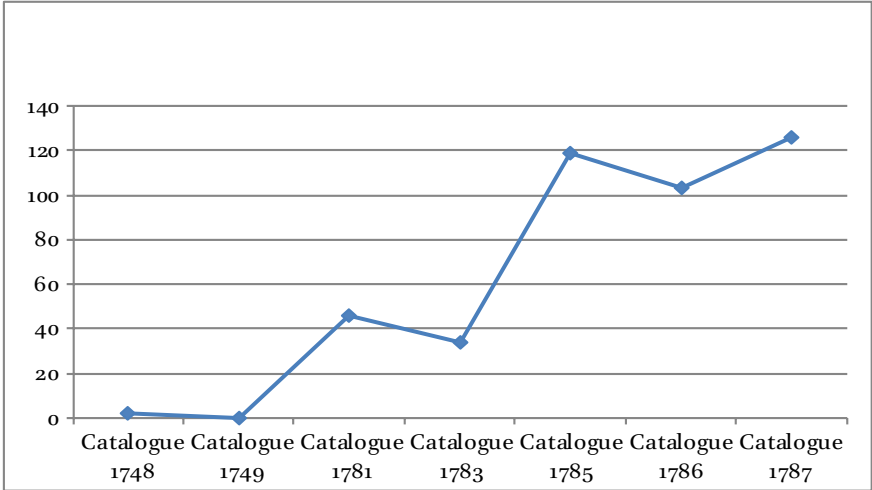


FIGURE 22 *Payne's bookshop: Spanish books.*



FIGURE 23 *Main eighteenth-century London bookshops with stocks of Spanish items.*

The establishment of Fletcher Gyles, a bookseller and publisher, stood somewhat further away from London's "golden mile" in Holborn, where he achieved some reputation as a publisher of legal and religious books. Four of his surviving catalogues list Spanish items, with an absolute predominance of books from the seventeenth century and an abundance of histories of Spain and

chronicles of the Americas, along with items of the pastoral genre. His catalogues reveal that sales of Spanish books peaked in the years 1725 and 1739; almost certainly due in both cases to the international situation in general, which likewise considerably affected the book trade in particular. The first of these marked a period of relative calm in Anglo-Spanish relations, which would be upset in 1740 by the War of the Austrian Succession. The catalogues of 1739 were published, interestingly, on different dates. The first one appeared in March, when European hostilities between Spain and Britain had not yet begun (although fighting had broken out in the Caribbean), but it contained the largest number of Spanish books to date, with a list of almost three hundred titles. On the other hand, the catalogue published in December 1739, by which time the war drums were sounding in Central Europe, reflected the continent's shifting commercial relationships. This is reflected in the stocks of British booksellers like Fletcher, who now offered barely twenty "enemy" titles.

Some London booksellers, like Samuel Baker, did not just sell Spanish books in their own shops; they also helped to run the major auction houses. Baker was in fact one of the founders of the famous house of Sotheby, later to be joined by George Leigh. They initially traded as "Baker and Leigh", after which Leigh continued the business in partnership with Baker's nephew, John Sotheby.<sup>401</sup>

Baker, who ran his Covent Garden bookshop for forty years, offered an outstanding range of Spanish books. It is no coincidence that his catalogues, nine in total, are those with the largest presence of Spanish items. Works from the Baroque period predominate, from his first book catalogue of 1734 right up to the final one of 1775. There are no especially outstanding items, but rather a series of generic works on the subjects of religion and linguistics in particular. His catalogue of the year 1756 marks a turning point in the number and quality of the works on offer. This coincided with the sale of the book collection of Martin Folkes, the president of the Royal Society.<sup>402</sup> Just one year before, he had also helped to dispose of the private collection of Richard Mead, whose library contained a magnificent set of Spanish books. The Folkes Catalogue contains such items as Jorge Juan's *Viage* (1748) and *Orígenes de la lengua española* (1737) by Mayans, in one of the very few mentions of the first biographer of Cervantes to see his work published in Britain. Indeed Cervantes was to enjoy an almost permanent presence in all of Baker's catalogues from 1764 onwards, along with picaresque literature and works of chivalry.

401 Frank Herrman, "The emergence of the book auctioneer as a professional", in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, *Property of a Gentleman* (Winchester, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1991), p. 11.

402 *A Catalogue of the entire and valuable library of Martin Folkes* ([London, 1756]).

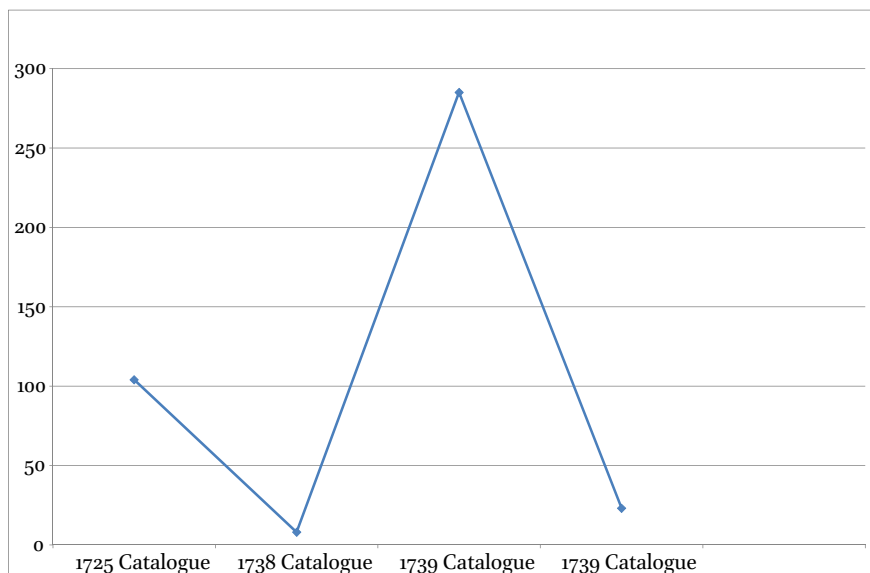


FIGURE 24 *Gyles' bookshop: Spanish books.*

In 1762, Baker organised the sale of the book collection of James Ralph, a friend of Benjamin Franklin, who attended the auction concerned. The sale catalogue included, among other items, "some rare *Spanish* books".<sup>403</sup> One of these was *Examen de ingenios* (1698) by Doctor Huarte de San Juan, which had already been published in London on five previous occasions; such was the interest there for this Spanish humanist.

The establishment of another important London bookseller, Samuel Paterson, stood very close to that of Baker. Located in Stationers's Hall, it offered one of the best selections of books, including items from Spain, in all of Europe. Paterson had learned his trade during a stay in France of several years' duration, and had acquired great knowledge of the world of European books. France also provided him with the model that he followed when describing the books in his catalogues. Paterson would in fact go down in history not only as an outstanding seller of books but also as the "best book-catalogue-maker of his time".<sup>404</sup>

403 John B. Shipley, "Franklin attends a book auction", *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 80 (1956), p. 37.

404 Noblett, "Samuel Paterson", p. 140.

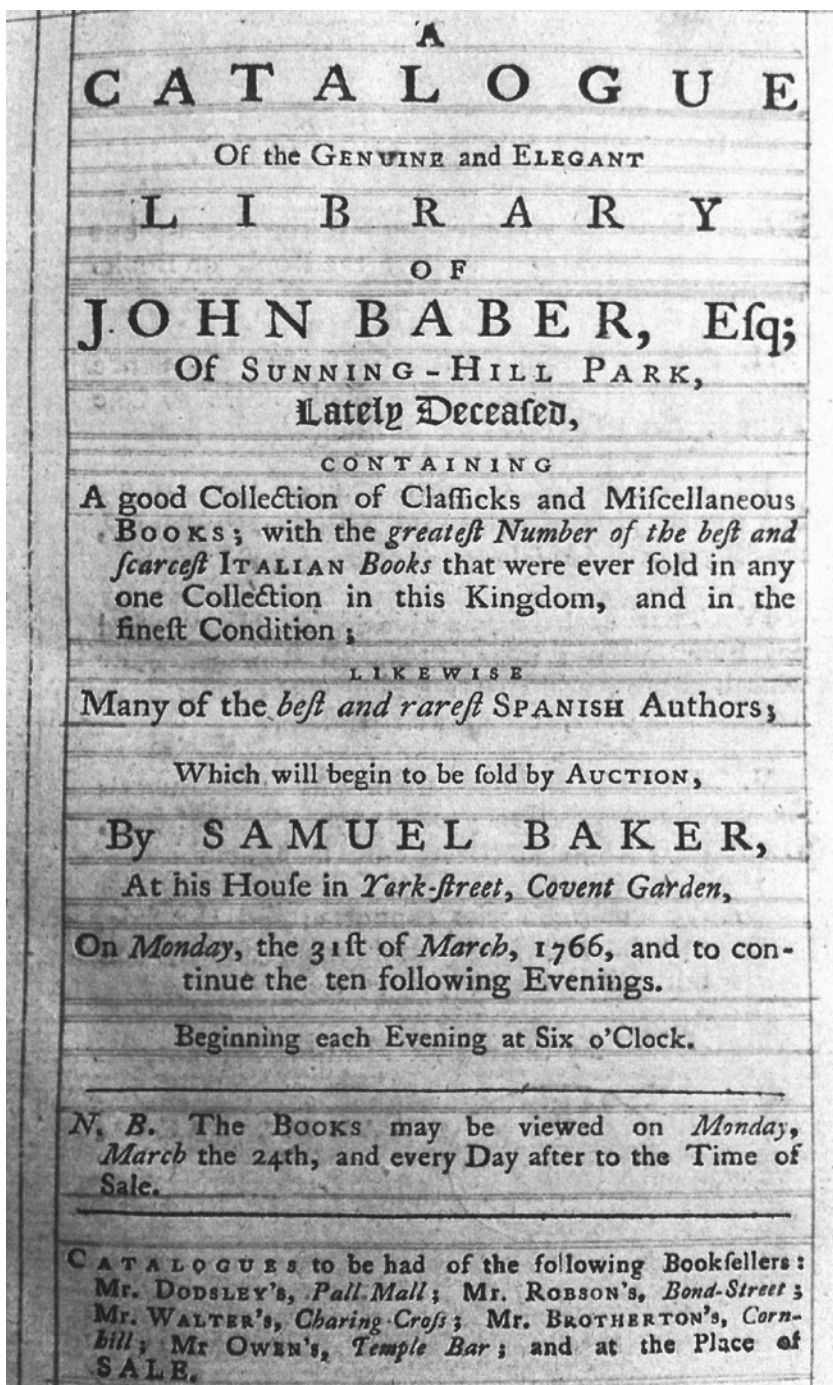


FIGURE 25A Spanish books from the bookshop of S. Baker, auctioned in 1766. bl. A catalogue of the genuine and elegant library of John Baber, ... to be sold by auction, by Samuel Baker, ... on Monday, the 31st of March, 1766. [London, 1766]. estc T4151.



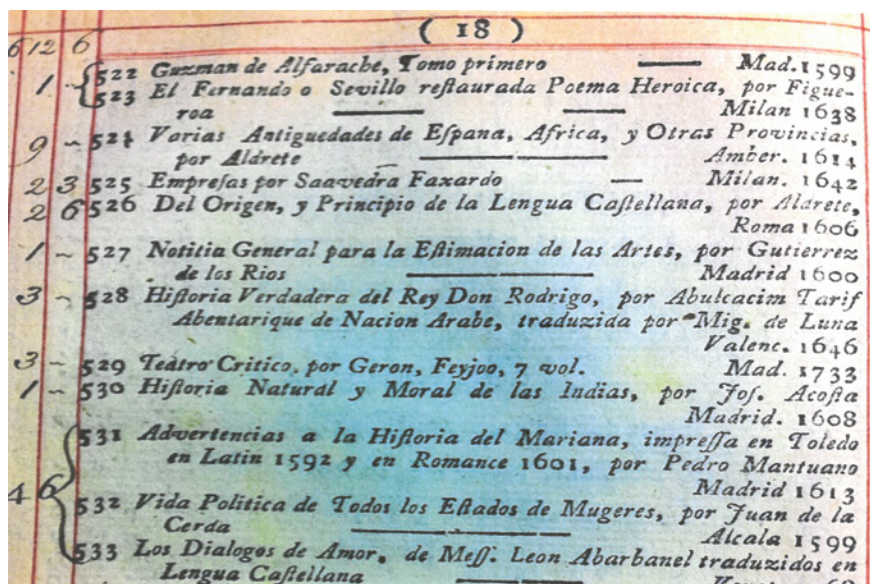


FIGURE 25B Spanish books from the bookshop of S. Baker, auctioned in 1766. BL. A catalogue of the genuine and elegant library of John Baber, ... to be sold by auction, by Samuel Baker, ... on Monday, the 31st of March, 1766. [London, 1766]. ESTC T4151.

Nevertheless, and despite his cataloguing skills, we find him in 1748 employed in the compiling of catalogues for Baker and Leigh, among others.<sup>405</sup> His professional successes stemmed more from his activities as an auctioneer of books and other items, rather than the book trade alone. But it is precisely here that we find a trace of Spanish literature. A total of six of his catalogues that are known to have survived include a “Spanish books” section. The first of these, from 1751, indicates that the authors of the items on sale are well-known. The following edition from one year later, 1752, concentrates on works of entertainment, while that of 1759 is concerned with the sale of a private collection. The 1778 catalogue covers three auctions; two of them involving select collections of European books, with Spanish items among them, along with the sale of another private collection.<sup>406</sup> Paterson logically also sold Spanish books as part of his business, although they are not specifically mentioned on the title page of his catalogues.

He nevertheless continued to sell such Spanish items right up to his death in 1802. His catalogue of 1783 contains the largest selection in this respect, with some three hundred titles and a special mention for “the Spanish romances

405 Pollard, *The distribution*, p. 245.

406 Pollard, *The distribution*, pp. 180–181.

and novels”, along with a collection of hundreds of works of drama. One thing that strongly draws our attention to the auctions organised by Paterson and certain others is the regular attendance of a faithful group of booksellers and collectors. These included, among others, Peter Elmsley, George Nicol, James Robson, Benjamin White and Ralph Willett.

The bookshop of Thomas Wilcox, which was near to that of Paterson, mainly sold Spanish editions of the seventeenth century, with an abundance of books on the history of Spain and works by the most famous writers of the Golden Age, such as Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Cervantes and Gracián, among others. As with Paterson, his stock did not include any items of great note from the point of view of bibliography. The second edition of his catalogue, which appeared in 1760, contained mostly books from Flanders and the Netherlands.

The Netherlands was in fact one of the nerve centres of the book trade of eighteenth-century Europe, and it provided a channel of communication between Britain and the continent. The British booksellers were fully aware of this, and maintained close contacts with the Dutch publishing sector as part of their efforts to stay up to date with what was being published on the other side of the Channel. The Hague was in fact home, between 1701 and 1750, to more than a thousand book auctions (i.e. about twenty per year), thereby turning this Dutch city into one of Europe’s most active centres of the trade in private collections of books.<sup>407</sup>

One English bookseller who knew this fertile market at first hand was James Fraser, who worked for several years as the tutor of a prominent British family resident in Amsterdam, where he discovered an additional source of income by becoming a “broker of books”.<sup>408</sup> Samuel Pepys himself, on a trip to the Netherlands, described this facet of Fraser and his interest in a collection of maps related to Spain:

Mr Frazier being just from the auction of books in Holland, says that there is a great collection in a private hand there of maps of all sorts through all the world [...] and particularly of the King of Spain’s dominions abroad.<sup>409</sup>

407 Otto S. Lankhorst, “Les ventes aux enchères des livres à La Haye dans la première moitié du 18e siècle”, in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck and C. Bots and P.G. Hoftijzer and O.S. Lankhorst, *Le magasin de l’univers. The Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1992), p. 201.

408 Iain Beavan, “Who was Dr James Fraser of Chelsea?” in John Hunks and Matthew Day, *From compositors to collectors. Essays on book-trade history* (Oak Knoll Press & British Library, 2012), p. 218.

409 Beavan, “Who was Dr James Fraser”, p. 219.

His thorough knowledge of the book trade soon came to the notice of the British court, and he was appointed Royal Librarian of the book collection at St James's Palace; a post that he combined with that of book agent to various courtiers and members of the government. When he died in 1732, his personal collection, which was auctioned by the bookseller Oliver Payne, was found to contain some forty Spanish books, though none of them was of any great significance.

The figure of Fraser does however bring us on to another subject of considerable interest: the trade in books associated with maps. We tend to think of the Spanish literature present in London only in terms of consignments of books, despite the fact that they were sometimes accompanied by other materials such as, in this case, maps. Indeed London booksellers such as David Mortier appear to have engaged in both businesses. His catalogue for the year 1703, for example, includes both information on new books and an announcement regarding "cartes géographiques du Mr Sanson, et autres cartes nouvelles".<sup>410</sup> The logical explanation of this is that the map business was not always sufficiently lucrative for bookshops, so those that sold maps needed to expand their stock by offering other items such as books, engravings or scientific instruments.<sup>411</sup>

These maps and books included items relating to Spain. Mortier therefore published, in 1705, an extremely rare "Plan of Barcelona and Badajos" along with a French edition of the second volume of *Don Quixote*; an operation that he would repeat two years later. These titles probably appeared in his 1708 catalogue entitled *A Catalogue of Latin, Italian, Spanish and French books*, containing items from various places on the continent.

The places included on their own merit included the Netherlands, where British booksellers maintained important contacts with merchants who supplied them with books in several languages, Spanish among them. One of these booksellers was Hendrik Scheurleer of The Hague, whose catalogue of 1751 listed, among other items, information on new publications that included "Histoire d'Espagne".<sup>412</sup> A few years later, his catalogue of 1762 devoted an entire section to the history of Spain. The books concerned were mainly French

410 *Catalogue de livres nouveaux qui se vendent dans la boutique de David Mortier. Chez qui l'on trouve toutes sortes de livres nouveaux, et de cartes géographiques du Sr. Sanson, et autres cartes nouvelles* (Londres: chez David Mortier, [1703]): "geographic maps of Mr Sanson, and other new maps".

411 Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 201.

412 *Catalogue des livres françois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque publique chez H. Scheurleer ... Les livres nouveaux qui se publient journellement, se trouvent aussi à un prix raisonnable* (Chez H. Scheurleer, [1751]).

translations, although two were in the original Spanish: the *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo* (1646) and *Los quarenta libros del compendio historial de las chronicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España* by Esteban de Garibay (1628).<sup>413</sup>

Another important Dutch bookseller with British connections, involving Thomas Bennet and Samuel Smith in particular, was Pieter van der Aa of Leiden. He traded mainly in books in Latin and French, but did not neglect to include occasional “livres curieux en espagnol” in his catalogues.<sup>414</sup> These include, in his catalogue of 1714, various editions of *Don Quixote*, among them one “en espagnol” and in two volumes, published in Antwerp not in 1698, as the catalogue states, but in 1697 by Juan Bautista Verdussen.<sup>415</sup>

These books were received by the main British bookshops dedicated to imports, from the Netherlands in this case. The list includes some names already mentioned, like the French Huguenots Isaac and Paul Vaillant, and a London bookseller related to them by marriage, Nicholas Prevost,<sup>416</sup> although, by the 1790s, the biggest importer of books from the continent was Thomas Beckett.

The trade did not just involve British booksellers travelling to the Netherlands to learn about the latest editions; Dutch booksellers also made incursions into London, despite the legal obstacles that existed for foreign booksellers.<sup>417</sup> One of these was the famous Prosper Marchand, who departed for London in 1726 in the company of his agent Isaac Vaillant. His objective was to establish himself there definitively by founding a French bookshop. He never actually managed to do so, although he did disembark in London with the contents of his magnificent book collection.<sup>418</sup>

A Dutch bookseller with more success in this respect was Abraham van der Hoeck, who inherited the Strand bookshop of his former master, fellow

413 *Catalogue des livres, qui se trouvent dans la Bibliothèque Publique, a La Haye ... recueillis par H. Scheurleer* (A la Haye, chez H. Scheurleer, 1762), p. 237.

414 P.G. Hoftijzer, “The Leiden bookseller Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733) and the international book trade”, in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Le magasin*, p. 173.

415 *Catalogue de livres, de cartes géographiques, des villes ... publiés en France, en Allemagne, et en Angleterre & ailleurs, qui se trouvent tout nouvellement à Leide, chez Pierre van der Aa* ([Leiden, 1714]), p. 13.

416 Giles Barber, “Aspects of the booktrade between England and the Low Countries in the Eighteenth century”, *Documentatieblad Werkgroep 18e Eeuw*, 34–35 (1977), p. 49.

417 Katherine Swift, “Dutch penetration of the London market for books, c.1690–1730”, in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck and C. Bots and P.G. Hoftijzer and O.S. Lankhorst, *Le magasin de l'univers. The Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1992), p. 267.

418 Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck. “Un cabinet de livres européen en Hollande: la Bibliothèque de Prosper Marchand”, in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Le magasin*, p. 13.

Dutchman Jacob Moetjens. The latter was in turn associated with the likewise Dutch Johannes Groenewegen, who became the London agent of a bookseller from the Netherlands named Pierre Gosse. The years 1721 to 1726 thus saw the triangle formed by Gosse in The Hague and Hoeck and Groenewegen in London conduct a catalogue trade based solely on books from the continent. We know that nobles like the Earl of Sunderland supplied their libraries from this company.<sup>419</sup>

The title pages of some of these catalogues announced the presence of Spanish book “lately imported from Italy, France, and Holland”.<sup>420</sup> They involved a total of eleven books, most of them on subjects concerning the Americas, especially history, thereby indicating a readership of already very specific tastes. This type of *à la carte* catalogue generally included few Spanish books or anything of great literary interest. This demonstrates how the presence of Spanish literature was highly limited in a Dutch context. This is corroborated by some of the reviews published in the main periodicals of the Netherlands.<sup>421</sup> There was no way for booksellers to sound out the market and learn at first hand about the latest publications in general and of Spanish items in particular, which is what ultimately explains the lack of Spanish books in the catalogues of those British booksellers who maintained commercial contacts with the Netherlands.

This problem does not however appear to have affected Cristopher Bateman, a bookseller whose premises were strategically located in Paternoster Row. He had inherited his trade from his father, and was also a recognised auctioneer of books. Sources of the time qualify him as “a man of great reputation and honesty”,<sup>422</sup> and his bookshop, which was visited by Jonathan Swift among others, was one of the best-stocked. These included a significant number of Spanish books, which – following the general pattern of the time – tended to date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with just a sprinkling of items from the eighteenth century, despite the fact that his final catalogue dates from 1730.

His first catalogue of 1728 reveals a specialisation in Spanish books on subjects relating to the East and West Indies. His three surviving catalogues all date from 1730. The first of these continues the established tradition with a book on the history of America, although it is accompanied by various works on

419 Swift, “Dutch penetration”, p. 273.

420 *Catalogus insignium & omnis generis studii librorum. Being a Catalogue of choice, valuable, and very scarce books, in Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, &c* ([London, 1724]).

421 Hans Bots, “Le rôle des périodiques néerlandais pour la diffusion du livre (1684–1747)”, in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Le magasin*, p. 53.

422 *The life and errors of John Dunton, citizen of London* (London, 1818), p. 217.

the history of Spain. These are of less significance, save for Mariana's *Historias* and some works by Diago y Escolano on the local history of Valencia. The second catalogue is based on the sale by auction of the contents of Noorthouck's bookshop, which took place on the actual premises. The accent here was on linguistics and literature, with works of the picaresque genre, like *Lazarillo* or *Guzmán*; or chivalry, such as *Historia del invencible caballero Don Polindo*. The catalogue dates this work to 1527, although the only copy of the book currently known to have survived is the Toledo edition of 1526. The unknown author occasionally alludes to a second part, but this has never been found and probably never will be,<sup>423</sup> unless the note was not an error on the part of Bateman, but a reference to this elusive second instalment. The question nevertheless remains unanswered for the time being.

One of Bateman's catalogues of 1730, which was devoted mainly to the sale of books on physics, contains a specific mention of a Spanish work. The text on the cover states that the books concerned had been printed by the "Juntas", among others; in clear allusion to the printers of Florentine origin who worked in Spain during the sixteenth century. One of them in particular, Julio Junti de Modesti, is described in documents of the time as being the "owner" of the *Imprenta Real*, the royal printing house. This catalogue returned to the usual Spanish literary items, such as the picaresque genre, with the third edition of *Pícara Justina* (1608), along with books of chivalry like the *Chronica llamada el Triumpho de los nueve mas preciados varones de la Fama* (1585).

The year 1730 also saw the publication of a catalogue of the bookseller Nicholas Prevost. His shop in The Strand specialised in the sale of Italian and Spanish books. He offered a wide range of the latter, with more than a hundred items in stock, consisting almost exclusively of quarto editions from the seventeenth century. None of these titles are particularly representative, save for *Historia medicinal de las Indias* (1580), by Monardes, and also Cervantes' final work, published posthumously in Madrid in 1617: *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*; along with his *Novelas exemplares* (1664); plus works by Góngora and Gracián, among others. One thing that does claim our attention is the large presence of works on the arts of fortification and artillery. This was not the only catalogue that Prevost would dedicate to Spanish books. There is believed to be an earlier one (possibly from 1728),<sup>424</sup> and a later one dating

423 María Carmen Marín Pina, "La recreación de los modelos narrativos caballerescos en la *Historia del invencible caballero Don Polindo* (Toledo, 1526)", *Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica*, T.XV, fasc. 1 y 2 (1989), p. 88.

424 *Catalogue des livres françois, italiens & espagnols; qui se trouvent à vendre dans la boutique de Nicolas Prevost & Comps* (Londres, [1728?]).

from 1731, specifically described as a “Catalogue of Italian and Spanish books”, although it appears to list the same contents as in 1730.<sup>425</sup>

It was likewise Prevost's printing press that produced, between 1730 and 1734, *Historia litteraria, or an exact and early account of the most valuable books published in the several parts of Europe*. This three-volume work reflected new literary developments in Europe, as well as listing the books from various parts of the continent that were stocked by Prevost's shop. This analysis of European literary tendencies, entitled “The present state of learning”, mentioned various Spanish cities, including Madrid, Salamanca and Valencia. The mention of Madrid was accompanied by news of recent book publications, and announced the arrival at the bookshop of “a new edition of the works of Quevedo in 6 vols, 4<sup>o</sup>.”<sup>426</sup> When it came to Valencia, it revealed that Mayans had published some of his dissertations on civil law in a book entitled *Systema disputationum legalium*. There was similar information with regard to Salamanca. Prevost used this publication to offer collectors, the curious and other booksellers precise information on the Spanish works being published, and to notify them of those that were available at his bookshop in The Strand, in the district of Covent Garden, and therefore close to the premises of John Gerard, who was better known as an auctioneer of medals and coins. One of the sales held by the latter was organised to dispose of the property of Francis Carter, who was famous for a magnificent coin collection that had originally been obtained from its previous owner, Henrique Flórez, upon his death. The sale also included “his library of books, chiefly Spanish”, “which are many antient chronicles and very scarce Romances”.<sup>427</sup> The collection of the author of *Journey from Malaga to Gibraltar* (1776) did indeed contain various rare books. This should come as no surprise, given that the final work completed by the author before his death was entitled *An historical and critical account of early printed Spanish books*.<sup>428</sup> He sought in this respect to use his own book collection “to write an historical and critical account of the most early printed volumes in the Spanish language”.<sup>429</sup> This helps to explain why his collection should include such

425 *Catalogus librorum, in omni facultate, apud Nicolaum Prevost* (London, Nicolas Prevost & Comp., 1731).

426 *Historia litteraria, or, an exact and early account of the most valuable books published in the several parts of Europe*. v. II (London, Printed for N. Prevost, 1731).

427 *A Catalogue of the valuable cabinet of Greek, Roman, and Spanish, coins and medals ... of the late Francis Carter* ([London, 1784]).

428 Alexander Chalmers, *The general Biographical Dictionary, containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent persons in every nation; particularly the British and Irish*. v. VIII (London, 1813), p. 306.

429 Chalmers, *The general Biographical Dictionary*, p. 306.

works as the second part of *Don Quixote* (1615), qualified as “rare” by Gerard; the first Plantinian edition (“extremely rare”) of *La Celestina* (1595); the *editio princeps* of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599); and likewise the *princeps* (according to Gerard, who described it as “lib. rariss. the finest copy in England”) of *Romancero general* (1604); an edition that was already considered “rare and costly” in the eighteenth century, according to a letter written by the royal librarian Martínez Pingarrón to Gregorio Mayans. He was very interested in the texts of the *Romancero*, and finally managed to obtain a copy in 1758.<sup>430</sup> It should however be noted that this was not the first edition of 1600, but rather the third edition printed by Juan de la Cuesta.<sup>431</sup>

Other items of note in the Carter collection included such Hispanic chronicles as the first edition of *Las quatro partes enteras de la crónica de España* (1541), by Florián de Ocampo; along with various works on antiques and numismatics, headed by *Museo de las medallas españolas* (1645), by Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa; a work designed to respond to erudite curiosity, of British collectors in this case, regarding Spanish antiquities.

Daniel Browne, whose bookshop was likewise in The Strand, had a fascination for things Spanish that went beyond mere commercial interests. He was in fact the publisher of the greatest number of catalogues of Spanish books, most of them from the seventeenth century. The items listed by him include books considered “rare” by such prestigious booksellers as Vicente Salvá who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, assigned this accolade to the 1619 Burgos edition of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1619) by Mateo Alemán,<sup>432</sup> which Browne included in his 1719 catalogue. The chronological sequence of Browne’s catalogues allows us to see the titles that tended to be re-listed as a result of poor sales. These include Cipriano de Valera’s *Biblia* of 1602, along with *Historia pontifical y católica* (1652) and *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de moriscos de Granada*, by Luis de Mármol y Carvajal. Browne’s name is also curiously associated with some of the important translations of Baltasar Gracián produced in London, particularly his well-known *Arte de la prudencia*, of which the English bookseller published three editions, in 1702, 1705 and 1714 respectively.

430 Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez, “El Romancero nuevo entre neoclásicos y románticos”, in *Actas del XVI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas. Nuevos caminos del hispanismo*. París, del 9 al 13 de julio de 2007.

431 Ángel González Palencia, *Clásicos españoles. III. Romancero general* (1600, 1604, 1605). T. I (Madrid, CSIC, 1947), p. x.

432 Vicente Salvá, *A Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books, with occasional literary and bibliographical remarks* (London, 1826), p. 4.



Some of Daniel Browne's contemporaries in the book trade also sold Spanish books, albeit in lower numbers, via their catalogues. One of these was a bookseller and publisher named Samuel Harding, who is best known for his four-volume 1735 edition of Stephen's *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.<sup>433</sup> His only catalogue of Spanish books, dating from 1723, includes mainly religious works, along with a 1697 edition of *Don Quixote* and a work by Lope de Vega, to name the most noteworthy items. Charles Davis, a bookseller with premises on Paternoster Row, sold more historical works. These were mainly works from the seventeenth century, along with the occasional literary item of special relevance, such as the edition of *Guzmán de Alfarache* fraudulently printed in Lisbon in 1600. It was illegal because Mateo Alemán himself authorised such spurious editions in an attempt to alleviate his debts.

Harmen Noorthouck, a bookseller with premises in Covent Garden, also sold literary – mainly chivalric – works, with various editions of *Don Quixote* and books like *Palmerín de Oliva* (1580). John Bullord, who was recognised as one of London's greatest booksellers, was based near St Paul's Cathedral. His catalogues date from quite early in our period (1700 and 1701 respectively). The outstanding item in the first of these is *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1623); while the second contains a 1655 edition of *Don Quixote*.

Bullord was a contemporary of book auctioneers like the aforementioned Thomas Ballard, who was active between 1706 and 1734. His book sales, numbering almost ninety, which were held at the St. Paul's Coffee House, included the disposal of the famous collection of Thomas Rawlinson. His first catalogue of 1707 includes the final 1586 Seville edition of *Amadís de Gaula*, while that of 1711 lists two scientific works from Spain; something rarely found in British catalogues of the day. One of these was an important Spanish work on the art of surgery from the seventeenth century, *Cirugía universal* (1607), by a physician from Toledo named Juan Frago. On the other hand, his final catalogue of Spanish items, that of 1725, includes one of the books most commonly found in the catalogues of London booksellers: *La Celestina* (the editions of 1590 and 1607 in this case).

Indeed one of the things that draws our attention to the catalogues of London booksellers, particularly those that handled only small volumes of Spanish books, is that they almost always stocked the same genres. Save for a few exceptions, they all seemed to stick to a fixed list containing various seventeenth-century editions of *Don Quixote*, the odd pastoral, picaresque or chivalric novel, Mariana's *Historia de España* and the historical works on

433 H.R. Plomer, *Dictionary*, p. 115.

America of Las Casas, Solís and Antonio de Herrera, to name the usual candidates. We can observe this phenomenon in action in the stocks of booksellers such as James Woodman, Thomas Corbett, John Bagford, and Luke Stokoe; along with Edmund Curll, who obtained his supplies from the Netherlands and offered “ready money for any Library of books in what language so ever to fuel this part of his business”.<sup>434</sup> An announcement of his dated 18 March 1709 advertised the sale of various books on his premises, including *The diverting works of the famous Miguel de Cervantes*, translated by Edward Ward.<sup>435</sup> Other translators of Spanish literature working on Curll's behalf included John Ozell, who rendered into English a work by a contemporary of Cervantes, Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, entitled *The Spanish pole-cat, or, the adventures of Siniora Rufina* (1717).<sup>436</sup>

The list of London booksellers trading in Spanish literature grew from the 1740s onwards. One of these was Lockyer Davis, who worked in collaboration with Charles Reymer for many years at his premises in Holborn. Their partnership was dissolved in 1770 however, and Davis began to operate independently. This did not imply any disaffection regarding Spanish literature. Quite on the contrary, his catalogue of 1790 was characterised by both the quantity and quality of the titles that it contained. The joint Davis-Reymer catalogue of 1768 is noteworthy meanwhile for the presence in it of various works by Gregorio Mayans. Indeed we can safely say that this is the catalogue with most direct or indirect mentions of Mayans' work. The list includes items like Ximeno's *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia* (1747), who benefited from Mayans' advice regarding his method. Both he and his brother Juan Antonio took the decision regarding the final title of the work, which was then submitted to Gregorio for the final approval of the “censor”. The catalogue also includes *Obras cronológicas del marqués de Mondéjar* (1744), which Mayans published by way of the Academia Valenciana. The list concludes with another of his works: *Ensayos oratorios* of 1739.

More complete is Davis' catalogue of 1790, which included the sale of three book collections; those of two reverends and that of a “very eminent physician”. The works concerned were also “in very good condition, many on royal paper, in elegant bindings”.<sup>437</sup> These included some of the most emblematic works of the eighteenth century, like Nicolás Antonio's *Censura de Historias*

434 Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curll, bookseller* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 24.

435 Baines, *Edmund*, p. 29.

436 Baines, *Edmund*, p. 120.

437 *L. Davis's Catalogue of a very large and valuable collection of books ... including, particularly, the Library of the late reverend William Ludlam ... the theological part of the late reverend*

*Fabulosas* (1732), published by Mayans; or *Relación histórica del viage a la América meridional*, by Jorge Juan y Ulloa (1748), in “foliis intonsis”, along with an indication that they were gifts to “G. Watson” from the authors concerned. This almost certainly referred to George Watson Taylor, a wealthy collector of art and items of botany, who is known to have possessed a splendid book collection, eventually sold in 1823, which included such items as two magnificent editions of *Don Quixote*, namely the second Madrid edition of 1608 and Ibarra’s famous version of 1780.<sup>438</sup>

A 1738 edition of *Don Quixote* also figured prominently in one of the catalogues of London bookseller Joseph White; in this case including Mayans’ biography of Cervantes. White, whose bookshop was very near to that of Davis, began to sell an outstanding roster of books in 1768. The list included various Spanish items, headed by the above-mentioned edition of Cervantes’ great work. An edition printed in London reappeared in the catalogue of 1773, along with other works by Cervantes, such as his *Novelas* (1739), or *Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617); along with certain works by Quevedo and Calderón. It is interesting to note that the editions of authors of the Spanish Golden Age now tended to date from the 1700s, rather than from the previous two centuries, as had previously been the case. This is evident in the fact that White now sold more modern adaptations of the classics of Spanish literature.

Not far from Holborn, and away from the “golden mile” of London booksellers, stood one of the most famous bookshops of the city, that of James Lackington. This establishment, which was better known as *The Temple of the Muses*, achieved international fame. He came from a complicated background however, barely knowing how to read and write, and only by perseverance was he able to make his fortune.<sup>439</sup> Lackington published his memoirs in 1791, and retired from the book trade seven years later to let his cousin George Lackington continue the business. The latter established a firm, Lackington, Allen & Company, which in 1801 entered into an association with the Charleston Library Society of South Carolina, thereby initiating an intense transatlantic exchange of books.<sup>440</sup>

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*Dr. Henry Stebbing's Library; and the medical collection of a late very eminent physician* ([London, 1790]).

438 *Catalogue of the choice, curious, and splendid London Library of George Watson Taylor* (London, 1823), p. 22.

439 Henry Curwen, *A history of booksellers* (London, 1873), p. 75.

440 James Raven, “Gentlemen, pirates, and really respectable booksellers: some Charleston customers for Lackington, Allen & Co”, in Arnold Hunt and Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell, *The book trade & its customers 1450–1900* (New Castle, Oak Knoll Press, 1997), p. 249.

Lackington & Allen published a catalogue of its stocks in 1796. The volume of its sales, involving more than 200,000 items, gives us some idea of the scale of the business. The list included almost a hundred Spanish books, headed by such eighteenth-century works as the usual *Censura de Historias Fabulosas*, by Nicolás Antonio; Lord Carteret's 1738 edition of *Don Quixote*, and *Tratado de Arithmetica theorica* (see above) by Juan Sánchez Reciente, destined for the use in the Seminary School of San Telmo in Seville. Lackington indicated the availability for sale, in addition to the titles listed, of "many hundred volumes of French, Italian, and Spanish books, various fixes".<sup>441</sup> He confessed in his memoirs to being an avid reader of the major novels of European authors like Cervantes.<sup>442</sup> In addition to this, and in order to have a good "booksellers shop", he needed to offer a wide range of genres based on the demands of his customers. These included "The Spanish Rogue", in clear allusion to the picaresque literature that was so to the liking of English-speaking readers.<sup>443</sup>

## 2.6 By Way of Conclusion

It is clear that the presence of Spanish literature in eighteenth-century London is open to more than one interpretation, depending on the different individual sources of information concerned. These logically include the bookshops involved, along with the auction houses, the busy coffee houses of the day, periodicals, private collections, the accounts of travellers and diplomats and, naturally, written correspondence. They all provide tools that let us explore what constituted London's public opinion regarding Spanish culture.

Analysis of the sources has allowed us, independently of any particular subject, to know at first hand the image that Londoners of the day had of Spanish literature. What Spanish books did they import? Who sold them? Who bought them? Which Spanish books came to form part of the collective world view of Britain's capital city? These are just a few of the questions that arose at the beginning of this research. If one thing is clear, it is that Spanish books were not, for various reasons already mentioned, a mainstay of the cultural life of eighteenth century, with the exception of *Don Quixote*. If it had not been for Cervantes' work, Spain would have remained, in British eyes, a peripheral part of European culture; "a whale stranded upon the coast of Europe", as Edmund

441 Lackington, Allen, & Cos. *Catalogue, volumen the first, Michaelmas, 1796, to September, 1797, consisting of above 200,000 volumes* ([London, 1796]), p. 473.

442 Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 371.

443 Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 383.

Burke put it. Even so, the prevalent vision of Spain matched many of the stereotypes circulating at the time.

The best way to reconstruct this image is to refer to the correspondence maintained during the eighteenth century by British and Spanish intellectuals, diplomats and travellers. These include the correspondence between Thomas Percy and John Bowle, which supplies abundant information on Spanish books; the letters that Ambassador Grantham sent to London; and the correspondence on things botanical that Cavanilles maintained with various notable figures in Britain. All this correspondence was accompanied by books, as attested to by the letters exchanged by Mayans with certain British intellectuals. The letters concerned are also a rich source of information regarding booksellers, auctions, catalogues and subscribers and collectors with an interest in Spanish literature. These correspondence-based relationships were complemented by other channels of communication that facilitated the arrival of Spanish books in London. These included the travels of certain professionals of the publishing world, like the bookseller Sancha, who journeyed to London to strengthen his relationships with the city's major booksellers. British booksellers also travelled to the Netherlands to learn about the latest continental publications.

The Netherlands were in fact to play an important role in the cultural relationship between Britain and the rest of Europe. Dutch booksellers and agents supplied Spanish items to the main London booksellers, some of whom travelled to The Hague and Antwerp in order to strengthen their ties with key professionals in the book trade. The role of these agents, whether British or Dutch (or even French, in the case of the *Vaillants*), was crucial to the sale of Spanish books on the British market.

This overview should not however distort the reality that the role of Spanish literature in the book trade of eighteenth-century Britain was a rather insignificant one. This is confirmed by the relationships between the major British collectors and bibliophiles and their correspondents in Europe; in which there is virtually no mention of the existence of agents in Spain. While it is true that Spain tended not to be included in the Grand Tour, and that the political situation of the time was less than ideal, this does not explain the almost total absence of contacts with professionals in the Spanish publishing trade.

The same was true in the opposite direction. English was rarely spoken in Spain, and books in the language were considered to be costly items, so very few were to be found in the main private collections or public libraries of the day. Those that did exist tended to be French translations, which took away something of their natural essence.

This will perhaps help us to understand better the image of Spanish literature that was held in a major city like London in the eighteenth century. The

main private collections, bookshops, auctions and literary news published in the periodicals of the day all contributed to an image of Spain as a stale, out-dated place. This was the Spain of *Alatriste*, a novel by Arturo Pérez Reverte, where swordsmen for hire, disgraced knights, corrupt and roguish curates, poor hack writers and smugglers all helped distort the image of a country that was slowly opening itself up, albeit with certain ups and downs, to the modern world. The Spanish Golden Age dominated, indeed monopolised, the London trade in Spanish books. The Spanish books that *were* known about and read in Britain's capital tended to communicate a traditional view of the country, rather than act as an instrument of renovation and modernity. One example of this is the almost total absence of Spanish literature in the main bookshops of London, without even mentioning auctions or private collections. Even more significant is the fact that authors such as Mayans, whose first biography of Cervantes was printed by the Tonson brothers, is not listed in virtually any bookshop or library catalogue in the city. This absence is rather shocking; even more so in light of the fact that he inherited the legacy of Manuel Martí, who was respected and read in London. Equally striking is the almost total absence of the most significant authors of the Spanish Enlightenment, save for exceptions like Jorge Juan, who was for some time engaged as a "spy" in England. When it came to Britain's image of Spain, it was as if time has stopped in 1700.

A classic work of Spanish literature in the form of a pocket book seems to have been the chief preference of London readers in this respect. Literature of the picaresque, chivalry and entertainment, along with the major names of Spanish literature and drama of the Golden Age, constituted the main business of the British capital city's booksellers. Above them all stood a single work, *Don Quixote*, whose impact on the world of English literature of the time is bettered only by Shakespeare. There were innumerable adaptations, translations, editions and reprints of Cervantes' great work. Indeed the book collection of Cervantes himself, which can be construed from that of his Castilian *hidalgo* hero, perpetuated a Spanish literary canon that was in turn reflected in the stocks of most London bookshops of the day.<sup>444</sup> Major works of Spanish literature from the eighteenth century, on the other hand, were conspicuous by their absence.

London's booksellers knew perfectly how to adapt what they offered to the tastes of their customers, with an assortment of Spanish books that was as varied as possible; in genres like literature, history and religion. These wise and attentive booksellers were careful to guide their customers through the jungle of titles listed in their catalogues, converted – thanks to their efforts and to use a

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444 Daniel Eisenberg, *La biblioteca de Cervantes: una reconstrucción*. Available at: <http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/deisenbe/cervantes/reconstruction.pdf>.

metaphor typical of the Golden Age – into a garden of variegated Spanish flowers.<sup>445</sup> One common feature of all these catalogues was the almost systematic repetition of certain authors and titles. The Spanish literary canon, as available in London, ended up being reduced to a list of some twenty authors in various disciplines. Notable absences included scientific books and anything on the humanities, such as philosophy or the history of art.

Spanish literature of the 1700s was almost totally eclipsed by that of the previous two centuries. There was a clear interest for *editiones principes*, but not so much enthusiasm for incunables. These turned out to be more to the liking of the great collectors of the nineteenth century, who took advantage of the ecclesiastical confiscations of Mendizábal to acquire some magnificent specimens at knock-down prices. The absence of Spanish incunables could therefore be explained by their elevated price at the time. There was furthermore hardly any mention of Spanish incunables in the main European bibliographies that circulated in London. This was also partly due to the fact that most Spanish incunables were printed in descendants of Vulgar Latin, and that they were by authors who were virtually unknown in Britain.

A quite common practice among British collectors was the acquisition of items from other collections. We can see this in the catalogues of private libraries, which show how certain items changed hands. Another characteristic of these great book collections is that they tended to cease to exist upon the death of their creator, upon which the collection was put on sale. Few book collections were passed from one generation to another, and those that were tended to be inherited by close family or passed on for socio-economic reasons.

These collections were characterised, in one way or another, by their multidisciplinary nature in terms of both subject and language, and an undeniable sensitivity on the part of those who accumulated them. The linguistic hierarchy of these book collections precisely matched the geostrategic structure of eighteenth-century Europe. Books in English were followed by those in French, Dutch, German, Italian and, finally, Spanish, leaving it virtually on a par with Portuguese.

There were also publications that had reached Britain in the context of trade in other items, such as maps. The Netherlands and France once again played a significant role as the main suppliers of the outstanding examples of cartography concerned, which were often accompanied by engravings and scientific instruments.

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445 Roger Chartier, "Librerías y libreros: historia de un oficio, desafíos del presente", *Revista Texturas*, 1 (2006), p. 18.

## Final Conclusions

It is clear, on the basis of all that has been stated, that Spanish literature played only a minor role in the cultural life of the citizens of eighteenth-century Paris and London. When it did figure, it transmitted an image of a traditional country trying to escape from the shadows of the past and follow the path of the modern European Enlightenment, in a clear rupture with the establishment of the day.

It was even more paradoxical that this image should continue to be transmitted in the eighteenth century, when Spain did indeed have an enlightened monarch and certain ministers bent on reform. What is certain, and the books of the day reflect this, is that the Spain of the Enlightenment was, in the eyes of Europeans, very similar to the arrogant observation of the Italian adventurer Casanova, who described Spain as “a nation worthy of pity, useless for the world and for itself”, where backwardness, ignorance and a disdain of progress all ran rampant.<sup>1</sup>

These insolent words helped to ensure that both Paris and London had a common vision of Spain and its literature, namely one based almost wholly on the Golden Age. This impression is echoed in a keen observation made by Bourgoing in his *Nouveau voyage en Espagne* (1789), regarding Spanish literature: “Now that more than a hundred years have passed since that distant era of the Golden age, they have stagnated and been left stranded at the same point in time”. So what did in fact become of the Spanish Enlightenment? The bookshops, press, public libraries, private book collections, sales and auctions of both London and Paris unfairly obliterated anything produced in eighteenth-century Spain. Spain’s efforts to modernise had little impact beyond the Pyrenees, where the accent was on the contemporary touches, comic nature and entertainment value of Spanish literary works from the previous two centuries.

The so-called “antique” classics of Spanish literature represented modernity to English and French readers. This view of the Spanish literary canon was shared, save for a few exceptions, by the bibliophiles, booksellers and readers of Paris and London, and the number of authors involved, who were in any case read more in translation than in the original, can be reduced to a list of no more than ten, with – inevitably – Cervantes at the top. He was followed by writers such as Mariana, Antonio de Solís, Herrera, Lope de Vega and Quevedo, along with works like *Guzmán*, *Lazarillo* and the *Biblia Polígloa Complutense*,

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1 María José Villaverde Rico, “La Leyenda”, p. 61.



to cite the most representative among them. The Bible apart, all these works were notably Baroque, in contrast to the French classicism of the day.

This image reached the booksellers of Paris and London via their respective main sources of reference, consisting on the one hand of an oral tradition of word-of-mouth transmission of what was being read and commented on, along with news that reached the city with the arrival of travellers, diplomats and merchants and, finally, literary culture, in the shape of what was being published and printed. All this allowed the booksellers to sound out the market, and then track down and select the Spanish books concerned.

Even more surprising is the fact that the presence of Spanish literature in London was, by volume, greater than that of Paris, thereby demonstrating that proximity in terms of both geography and royal dynasty did not necessarily favour the exchange of ideas, in the shape of books in this case. They nevertheless had certain things in common, despite these differences. One of these was the reference tools used by the booksellers of both capital cities to guide their way through the fragile market in Spanish books. Everything indicates that they consulted just two works of reference in their efforts to gain a general idea of the “best” Spanish literature. The first of these, an undoubtedly valuable source of bibliographical reference, and one often to be found in the bookshops concerned, was Nicolás Antonio’s *Bibliotheca Hispana*. It was particularly useful to British and French booksellers because it was in Latin, and therefore more accessible to them than anything printed in Spanish. It also included some excellent supplements, and was very well indexed.

The other Spanish work that booksellers tended to handle assiduously was without doubt *Don Quixote*. It was in fact something of a “booksellers’ book”, as it contained abundant information on other Spanish works; not least in the descriptions of the contents of the Castilian *hidalgo* protagonist’s own library. A list of no more than about three hundred books constituted the quintessential stock of Spanish items held by the booksellers of Paris and London. The Spanish literary canon of both cities therefore tended to include *Guzmanes*, *Lazarillos*, *Palmerines*, *Amadis*es and of course the works of Montemayor, Gil Polo, Garibay, Mariana and Lope de Vega, to cite the most representative items on the list. The critical sense that appears to have guided Cervantes in his choice of literature was likewise valued by the booksellers of the two great European capitals of the day, in their respective efforts to satisfy the reading tastes of the nobles and members of the upper and prosperous middle classes who were their customers.<sup>2</sup>

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2 Edward Baker, *La biblioteca de Don Quijote* (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2015), p. 44.

As in the cruel cull of Don Quixote's books that take place in the novel, the booksellers of both cities had to adapt their selection to their readers, who seemed to prefer the Spain of the *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, rather than the *Nova* of the eighteenth-century. This impression was perpetuated by the intellectuals of both countries and, to a certain extent, by travellers. "L'âge de la médiocrité" is how Fleuriot de Langle described eighteenth-century Spain. Except for the Count of Aranda, nobody escaped the libellous harangues of this French writer, who alleged that while Spanish booksellers dedicated themselves to the publication of religious works like *Guías de pecadores*, their French counterparts did the same with forbidden books and authors characterised by their markedly reformist attitude.<sup>3</sup>

It was supposed that the Spanish had little interest in the sciences and knowledge in general; something that the Spanish books available in Paris and London did nothing to deny. The phrase "places of oblivion" clearly alluded to the supposition that Spain had remained anchored in its previous Golden Age, in denial of the world of natural science, experimentation and the philosophy of progress.<sup>4</sup>

A certain hint of self-criticism demands an answer to the question: To what extent was Spain itself to blame for the transmission of this image? Why did the bookshops of Paris and London not sell the literature of eighteenth-century Spain; not only its fiction, but also works of science, art and history? The causes are, as we have seen, multifarious and in no way attributable to outsiders.

The first cause is undoubtedly the low presence, if not total absence, of Spanish professionals of the book trade (booksellers, printers and agents) in Europe's main centres of book publishing. Save for certain specific exceptions like the printer Sancha or the bookseller Mallén, practically no member of the Spanish book trade maintained contacts with booksellers or publishing houses elsewhere in Europe. There was likewise a lack of any presence at the Frankfurt book fairs or the main auctions and book sales of France and the Netherlands, which was one of the most entrenched centres of the eighteenth-century publishing trade. There was also hardly any correspondence between Spanish booksellers and their European counterparts. There were no agents in the main European capitals to supply and distribute books to British and French collectors. Spain battened down its hatches to prevent

3 Fleuriot de Langle, *Voyage de Figaro en Espagne* (Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université, 1991), p. 64.

4 Juan Pimentel, "Del peso del aire y las disciplinas invisibles. La polémica de la ciencia española como narrativa de una modernidad elusiva", in María José Villaverde Rico and Francisco Castilla Urbano (dir.), *La sombra de la Leyenda Negra* (Madrid, Tecnos, 2016), p. 444.

supposed contamination from French and British sources, and this affected the country at all levels.

Furthermore, and with the exception of Mayans and Cavanilles, there was little correspondence between Spanish intellectuals and their counterparts elsewhere in Europe. Indeed Mayans neglected France, and to a lesser extent Britain, in this respect, when he could otherwise have promoted the presence of Spanish culture in the countries concerned; which he did in fact do mainly in Germany, Switzerland and Italy. The correspondence of Cavanilles with Britain was limited in comparison to the voluminous letter-writing of Mayans, and in any case largely reduced to his specialist area of botany. The correspondence between the French and British intellectuals of the day highlights the absolute insignificance, in comparison, of links to Spain. The physical mobility of the major European intellectuals was also far removed from the desk-based approach of their Spanish counterparts. Relative poverty and a certain provincialism contributed to this, exacerbated in part by a limited mastery of foreign languages. Spaniards of the eighteenth century were not at all well-travelled, and even those that did leave home did not regularly visit France or much less Britain, save for a few exceptional cases like that of Ponz.

Spain was a country more frequently travelled to than travelled from, and this had its consequences. Despite comments such as those of a Catalan scholar named Vega Sentmenat, which held that “Spaniards are becoming as intrepid as foreigners”, in clear allusion to the printer Sancha, recently returned from London, the lack of networks of correspondence between European travellers and an absence of publishing professionals posted elsewhere on the continent limited Spain’s external presence, particularly in the eighteenth century. Any knowledge of Spain that did exist beyond its borders tended to be filtered by the presses of Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Italy, which produced a large number of Spanish publications. Some of the blame for this lies with Spain’s monarchy, which did not know how to promote the country’s own virtues above those from outside. The intellectuals themselves were likewise often at fault, given that they frequently sought to publish and distribute their works of Spanish culture outside rather than inside the country.

Spain’s national policies regarding the publishing trade were, save for certain exceptions, rather mediocre. While countries like France and Britain offered protection in the form of copyrights and privileges, and even outright monopolies, to assist the printers of Paris and London, Spain tended to favour foreign presses rather than its own ones. Such was the case of the successors of Plantin in Antwerp, for example, who inexplicably maintained, virtually throughout the eighteenth century, their privileges to print liturgical works destined for Spain. This is without even mentioning the losses arising from the

publication of literary works and books on the humanities in countries such as Belgium or Switzerland, to cite but two; while institutions such as the Royal Company of Printers and Booksellers of Madrid, or printers from Valencia, like Bordázar, were completely locked out of this lucrative market. The contempt of one's own virtues and the appreciation of those of others had once again resulted in dire consequences for the Spanish publishing trade. While in France, for example, Diderot spoke up in his *Letter on the trade in books* (1763) for the abolition of prior censorship and the promotion of a free press, and in favour of a system of privileges, Spain's Curiel Decree of 1752 imposed severe censorship and protection measures designed to prevent any such freedom of the press.

There is another crucial fact involved in any understanding of the peripheral role played by Spanish literature in eighteenth-century Europe. The very wide range of books on offer in both Paris and London reflected the dynamism of both countries' societies. The dozens of auctions and book sales that were held responded to a strong demand on the part of readers and owners of books, which is what ultimately explains the corresponding growth in the book trade. The books concerned were obtained not only from the great collections of wealthy bibliophiles, but also from liberal professionals who had accumulated libraries of some consideration. A further symptom of this phenomenon is that citizens in general tended to purchase and read books, and keep them in their houses. This logically generated an enormous demand for professional publishers, booksellers and agents, who were based both in the home country and elsewhere throughout Europe. Sales and auctions of books were meanwhile unknown in eighteenth-century Spain, which helps to explain why there was no supply based on owners or collectors of books, other than the small minority that constituted the "Republic of Letters"; or demand of any kind in the shape of avid readers. This lack of both supply and demand explains the impoverished state of Spanish literature inside and outside the country's borders. We would have to wait until the nineteenth century, and the ecclesiastical confiscations of Mendizábal in particular, which nationalised the assets of the church and monastic orders; after which Spain would once more be a focus of European attention.

What was rare in Spain, in terms of major libraries and book collections and a public culture of reading, was far more common in eighteenth-century Europe, as typified by Paris and London. The result of this was that Spain did not attract booksellers or publishing agents from elsewhere in Europe, with just a few exceptions to prove the rule. This helps to explain why Spanish booksellers earned their living from imports, more than from items actually printed in Spain. The exports of Spanish books that did take place were meanwhile

limited to neighbouring countries like Portugal, as in the case of Mena the bookseller, rather than the emerging markets of France, the Netherlands and Britain.

All these circumstances conspired to ensure that Spanish literature in eighteenth-century Europe would enjoy less importance relative to other countries. Only on very few occasions was Spanish literature a priority of the booksellers of Paris and London, whose task more often than not was to fill gaps in their shelves with items which, far from improving Spain's image abroad, tended to perpetuate old stereotypes. Spanish literature could have been the country's best ambassador and a faithful ally in the fight against such stereotypes, but neither Britain nor, far less understandably, France were willing to promote a modern image of Spain. In bibliographical terms, Europe turned its back on modern Spain. And this is something which, despite the passing centuries, survives in the collective subconsciousness of both countries.



Spanish Books in Parisian Bookshops

TABLE 10    *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
S. Agustín	<i>Ciudad de Dios</i> <sup>1</sup>	Amberes, 1676	Fol.	Briasson (1730)
Antonio de Alcedo	<i>Diccionario geographico-historico de las Indias occidentales o America, es a saber de los reynos del Peru, nueva España, Tierra-firme, Chile, y nuevo reyno de Granada, con la descripcion de sus provincias, ciudades, &amp;c</i> <sup>2</sup>	En Madrid, 1786	5 v.; petit in 4°	De Bure (1796)
[Mateo Alemán]	<i>Vie de Guzman d'Alfarache, nouvelle édition</i> <sup>3</sup>	Paris, 1733	3 v.; 12° (2 l.)	De Bure (1752)
	<i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i> <sup>4</sup>	Burgos, 1619	4°	Briasson (1736); Briasson (1739)
José Antonio Álvarez y Baena	<i>Compendio historico de las grandezas de la coronada villa de Madrid</i> <sup>5</sup>	En Madrid, 1786	12°	De Bure (1796)
Juan Andrés	<i>Cartas familiares del abate D. Juan Andrés a su hermano, dandole noticia del viage que hizo a varias ciudades de Italia, en el año 1785</i> <sup>6</sup>	En Madrid, 1786	2 v.; 12°.	De Bure (1796)

1 San Agustín, *La ciudad de Dios del glorioso doctor de la yglesia San Agustín, en veynte y dos libros; contiene los principios y progresos desta ciudad, con una defensa de la religión christiana, contra los errores y las calumnias de los gentiles. Traduzidos de latín en romance por Antonio de Roys y Roças* (En Amberes, por Geronymo Verdussen, 1676). Fol.  
2 (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Benito Cano, 1786).  
3 (A Paris, chez Henry Charpentier, au palais, 1733).  
4 *Primera y segunda parte de Guzman de Alfarache* (En Burgos, por Iuan Bautista Varesio: a costa de Pedro Gomez de Valdiuielso..., 1619).  
5 (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha, 1786).  
6 (Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha, se hallará en su libreria..., 1786).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Nicolás Antonio]	<i>Litteratura espagnola</i> <sup>7</sup>		8°. (1 libra)	De Bure (1788)
Aristóteles	<i>La poética de Aristoteles, traducida por Don Casimiro Flórez</i> <sup>8</sup>	Madrid, 1778	8°	De Bure (1788): De Bure (1796)
[S. Baldwin]	<i>Elemens de conversation espagnole, ou Dialogues espagnols et françois à l'usage des deux nations; on a joint a cet ouvrage la Nouvelle comédie ou le Café, comédie en deux actes et en prose, en espagnol et en français</i> <sup>9</sup>	Paris, 1803 <sup>10</sup>	8° (3 fr.).	Barrois
[S. Baldwin]	<i>L'art de la correspondance en espagnol et en français, divisé en deux parties; la première contenant des lettres sur divers sujets, extraites des meilleurs auteurs; la seconde, des lettres pour le commerce.</i>	Paris, 1803	1 v.; 8° (cet ouvrage paraîtra sous peu)	Barrois
Álamos de Barrientos	<i>Tacito español, ilustrada con aforismos, por D.L. Alamos de Barrientos</i>	Madrid, 1714 <sup>11</sup>	In-Fol. Relié en velin (19 fr.)	Barrois

7 *La literatura española demostrada por el erudito don Nicolás Antonio en el prefacio de su Biblioteca Nueva y traducida libremente al castellano con algunas notas, y una noticia de la vida del mismo D. Nicolás por don Manuel Benito Fiel de Aguilar* (En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, 1787).

8 *La poetica de Aristoteles dada a nuestra lengua castellana por Don Alonso Ordoñez das Seijas y Tobar...; añadese nuevamente el texto griego, la version latina y notas de Daniel Heinsio; y las del Abad Batteux traducidas del francés; y se ha suplido y corregido la traduccion castellana por el Licdo Don Casimiro Flórez Canseco ...* (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha se hallará en su librería, en la Aduana Vieja, 1778).

9 Original comedy by Leandro Fernández de Moratin, translated by Th. Chatelain and published in Paris by Ladvoat.

<sup>10</sup> (Paris, L. Théophile Barrois fils, 1803).

<sup>11</sup> This is most probably a printing error ("1714" for "1614"), as there is no known 1714 edition of this book: (En Madrid, por Luis Sa[n]chez a su costa y de Juan Hasrey, 1614).



Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Fray Benito Ruiz]	<i>Universad de amor y escuelas del interes suenna. Verdadero e verdades al pedir de las mujeres van añadida tres fabulas burlescas</i> <sup>12</sup>	En Paris, 1661	12°	G. Cavelier (1729)
Bentivollo	<i>Historia de las guerras de Flandes, escrita por el eminentissimo cardinal Bentivollo</i> <sup>13</sup>	Amberes, 1687	1 v.; in Fol, avec beaucoup de figures. (12 fr.)	Barrois
Bentivollo	<i>Guerras desde la muerte de Carlos v hasta la tregua por Bentivollo</i> <sup>14</sup>	Amberes, 1687	Fol. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
Bona	<i>Guia para el cielo</i> <sup>15</sup>	Brusselas, 1673	12°	Briasson (1730)
Juan de Borja y Castro	<i>Empresas morales por D. Juan de Borja</i> <sup>16</sup>	Brusselas, 1680	4°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
[Borja, Francisco de, Príncipe de Esquilache]	<i>Napoles recuperada, en versos, con las obras del Pr. D'Esquillache</i> <sup>17</sup>	Amberes, 1658; 1673	2 v.; 4°	Briasson (1730)
[Jacques Benigne Bossuet]	<i>Discursos sobre la Historia universal, por el ilustrisimo Bossuet; con la continuación de la Historia universal</i> <sup>18</sup>	Leon, 1751	3 v.; in 12° (9 fr.)	Barrois

12 (En Paris, en casa de Miguel Vaugon ... y se venden en su tienda, 1661).

13 Guido Bentivoglio, cardinal. *Las guerras de Flandes, desde la muerte del emperador Carlos v hasta la conclusión de la tregua de doze años escritas por el ... cardenal Bentiuollo; traduxolas de lengua toscana en española el padre Basilio Varen, de los clérigos menores* (En Amberes por Geronymo Verdussen, 1687), Fol.

14 Guido Bentivoglio, *Las guerras de Flandes, desde la muerte del emperador Carlos v hasta la conclusion de la Tregua de doze años escritas por el ... Cardenal Bentivollo; traduxolas de lengua toscana en la española el Padre Basilio Varen, de los clerigos menores* (En Amberes, por Geronymo Verdussen, Impressor y Mercader de Libros, 1687), Fol.

15 Giovanni Bona, *Guia para el cielo, en que se contiene toda la substancia de la doctrina de los Santos Padres, y de los antiguos philosophos, traducido de latin [por D.F.S.] de D. Juan Bona de Montereal, cardenal y abad ... de la Orden del Cister ...* (En Bruselas, en casa de Francisco Foppens..., 1673), 12°.

16 (En Brusselas, por Francisco Foppens, mercader de libros, 1680), 4°.

17 (En Amberes, en la emprenta plantiniana de Baltasar Moreto, 1658).

18 (En Leon de Francia, por Jaime Certe, 1751), 12°.

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Louis Bourdaloue	<i>Reflexiones y conceptos</i> <sup>19</sup>	Milan, 1737	3 v.; 12°	Briasson (1)
Louis Bourdaloue	<i>Sermones del padre Luis Burdaloue, de la Compañía de Jesús, para el adviente y la quaresma, traducidos en castellano</i>	[Amberes: a costa de Marcos- Miguel Bousquet y Compañía..., 1740]	4 v.; 12°	Briasson (1730); Jean Jombert (1722)
	<i>Sermones del P.L. Buldalue, para el adviente y la quaresma</i>	Leon, 1719		Briasson (1730); Briasson (1736); Briasson (1739)
[Louis Bourdaloue]	<i>Conceptos y reflexiones sobre diversos sujetos</i> <sup>20</sup>	Milan, 1737	3 v.; 12°	Briasson (1739)
[Michel Boutauld]	<i>Concejos de la sabiduría recapilation de las maximas, de Salomón, trad. del francés por el Padre Crosset</i> <sup>21</sup>	Brusselas, 1713	12°	Briasson (1730)
Calderón de la Barca	<i>Comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca que nuevamente corregidas publica don Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel su major amigo</i> <sup>22</sup>	En Madrid, 1685	10 v.; 4°	Prault (1765)

19 Louis Bourdaloue, *Conceptos y reflexiones sobre diversos sujetos de religion y de moral, por el R.P. Bourdaloue...*; nuevamente traducidos de el frances en español segun la edición de Paris ... (En Milan, a costa de Pellissari y Comp., 1737), 3 v.; 12°.

20 *Conceptos y reflexiones sobre diversos sujetos de religión y de moral por el R.P. Bourdaloue de la Compañía de Jesús; divididos en tres tomos; nuevamente traducidos de el francés en español según la edición de Paris impressa en el año de 1734* (En Milán, a costa de Pellissari y comp., 1737).

21 *Consejos de la sabiduria, recopilacion de las maximas de Salomon y las mas importantes al hombre, para governarse sabiamente consideraciones sobre las mismas máximas traducidas de francés en español por el P.F. Thomas Croset, Recoleta Franciscano* (En Brusselas, en casa de Francisco Foppens, 1713).

22 (En Madrid, por Francisco Sanz..., 1685).

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Bernardo María de la Calzada]	<i>La vie de Dom Blas de Lirias</i> <sup>23</sup>		1 v.	Briasson (1)
Melchor Cano	<i>Melchioris Cani episcopi Patavii, 1734 nariensis, ex ordine praedicatorum Opera, in hac primum editione clarius divisa, &amp; praefatione instar prologi Galeati illustrata a P. Hyacintho Serry Doct. Sorbon. et in Pat. Lyceo s. Thol. primario profess</i> <sup>24</sup>	Patavii, 1734	4°	De Bure (1752)
Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalau	<i>Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona</i> <sup>25</sup>	Madrid, 1779	2 v.; 4° (24 l)	De Bure (1788)
[Antonio de Capmany]	<i>Código de las costumbres marítimas de Barcelona, llamado libro del Consulado, nuevamente traducido al castellano con el texto lemosín, con varios glosarios, &amp;c</i> <sup>26</sup>	Madrid, 1791	2 v.; 4°	De Bure (1796)
Antonio Carnero	<i>Guerras de Flandes</i> <sup>27</sup> <i>Cartes des côtes d'Espagne</i>	Brusselas, 1625	Fol. Grand in-fol (60 l.)	Briasson (1730) De Bure (1788)
Francisco Cascales	<i>Tablas poeticas del lic. Francisco Cascales</i> <sup>28</sup>	Madrid, 1779	2 v.; 8° avec le portrait de l'auteur (5 et 7 l.)	De Bure (1788)

23 Bernardo María de la Calzada, *Genealogía de Gil Blas de Santillana, continuación de la vida de este famoso sujeto por su hijo Don Alfonso Blas de Liria, restituida a la lengua original en que se escribió por ... D. Bernardo María de Calzada* (Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, 1792), 4°.

24 (Patavii, Typis Seminarii, apud Joannem Manfré, 1734).

25 (Madrid, en la imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1779).

26 (Madrid, en la imprenta de Don Antonio de Sancha, 1791).

27 Antonio Carnero, *Historia de las guerras civiles que ha auido en los estados de Flandes des del año 1559 hasta el de 1609 y las causas de la rebelion de dichos estados, recopilada y escrita por ... Antonio Carnero ...* (En Bruselas, en casa de Iuan de Meerbeque, 1625), Fol.

28 *Tablas poéticas del lic. Francisco Cascales; añadese en esta 11 impresion Epistola Q. Horatii Flacci de Arte Poetica in methodum redacta, versiculis horatianis stantibus...; item Novae in grammaticam observationes; item discurso de la ciudad de Cartagena* (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha, 1779).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Juan de Castañiza]	<i>Lucha o combate espiritual [del alma con sus efectos desordenados ... y como usaba de él San Francisco de Sales]</i>	Amberes [Henrico y Cornelio Verdusse], 1719	18°.	Briasson (1730)
[Jerónimo Castillo de] Bovadilla	<i>Politica para los corregidores</i> <sup>29</sup>	Antwerp	2 v.; Fol.	Jean Jombert (1722)
[Caterino Enrico] Dávila	<i>Las guerras civiles de Francia</i> <sup>30</sup>	Antwerp	Con estampas	Jean Jombert (1722)
[Nicolás Caussin]	<i>Dia christiano por el P. Caussin</i> <sup>31</sup>	Brusselas, 1682	12°	Briasson (1730)
Pierre-Nicolas Chantreau	<i>Arte de hablar bien francés</i> <sup>32</sup>	Madrid, 1797	4° (8 fr.)	Barrois
	<i>Arte de hablar bien francés con Chantreau, o Gramatica completa dividida en tres partes</i> <sup>33</sup>	Madrid, 1786	4°	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
[Alonso de] Cepeda [y Adrada]	<i>Fortificación moderna reducida a la regla y al compás</i>	Brusselas, 1709	4°	Briasson (1730)
Ceriziers	<i>Vida de S. Genoveva princessa de Brabante</i>	Brusselas, 1717	8°	Briasson (1730)

29 *Politica para corregidores, y señores de vasallos, en tiempo de paz, y de guerra, y para jueces eclesiasticos y seglares* (En Amberes, en casa de Iuan Bautista Verdussen..., 1704).

30 *Historia de las guerras civiles de Francia de Enrico Caterino Dávila ... en que se escriven los hechos de ... Francisco II, Carlos IX, Enrique III y Enrique IV..., que traduxo ... de la lengua toscana en la castellana ... Basilio Varen de Soto; con las adiciones ... por el dicho ... Basilio Varen de Soto desde el año de 1598 hasta el año de 1630* (En Amberes, por Juan Bautista Verdussen..., 1713).

31 (En Brusselas, Por Francisco Foppens..., 1682).

32 *Arte de hablar bien frances, ó Gramatica completa dividida en tres partes, trata la primera de la pronunciacion y de la ortografia, la segunda de la analogia y valor de las voces y la tercera de la construccion y sintaxis; cor [sic] un Suplemento que contiene una nomenclatura muy ámplia ... sacado todo de los mejores maestros ... por don Pedro Nicolas Chantreau ...* (En Madrid, en la Imprenta de Sancha: se hallará en su libreria..., 1797), 4°.

33 (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha: se hallará en su libreria..., 1786).

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Miguel de Cervantes	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha,</i>	Madrid, 1798	9 v.; in-18°. Fig. (42 fr).	Barrois
	<i>compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra; nueva</i>	Madrid, 1780	1 v.	De Bure (1788);
	<i>collection, por D.J.A. Pellicer</i>	1782	4 v.; 4°. Superbe	De Bure (1796)
	<i>On a ajouté a cette charman-</i>	En Londres, por	4 v.; 4°. Superbe	De Bure (1788)
	<i>te edition la Vie de Michel</i>	J. y R. Tonson,	edition, imprimée	Barrois; De Bure
	<i>Cervantes</i> <sup>34</sup>	1738	par Ibarra, avec	(1788); De Bure
	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha-</i>	Amsterdam,	beaucoup de figures.	(1796)
	<i>compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra</i> <sup>35</sup>	Arkstée &	(96 l.)	De Bure (1788);
	<i>Le même</i> <sup>36</sup>	Merkus, 1755	4 v.; 8°. Très jolie edi-	Prault (1765);
	<i>Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo, Don Quixote de la</i>	Madrid, viuda de	tion, imprimée par le	Prault (1766)
	<i>Mancha, compuesta</i>	Ibarra, 1787	même, avec figures.	De Bure (1796)
	<i>por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, en quatro tomos</i>	En Haia, 1744	(18 l.)	De Bure (1752)
	<i>Le même</i> <sup>36</sup>	Antwerp	4° v.; 4°. Belle edition	Jean Jombert
	<i>Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo, Don Quixote de la</i>		avec beaucoup de	(1722); G.
	<i>Mancha, compuesta</i>		figures (96 l.)	Cavalier (1729)
	<i>por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, en quatro tomos,</i>		4 v.; 8°. Très jolie	
	<i>con muy bellas estampas</i> <sup>37</sup>		edition avec figures	
	<i>La vida y hechos del admirable D. Quixotte de la</i>		6 v.; 8°. Fig.	
	<i>Mancha</i> <sup>38</sup>		4 v.; 12°. Fig. (5 l.)	
			2 v.; 8°. Con	
			estampas	

34 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *La vie de Michel de Cervantes Saavedra por Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar...; traduit d l'espagnol ... par le sieur D.S.L.* (Amsterdam, chez François Changuion, 1740), 12°.

35 (En Madrid, por don Yoaquin Ibarra..., 1780).

36 (En Madrid, por Don Joachin Ibarra, Impresor de Camaras de S.M., 1782).

37 (En Haia, por P. Gosse y A. Moetjens, 1744).

38 This is most probably the following edition: (En Amberes, por Juan Bautista Verdussen, 1719).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Miguel de Cervantes	<i>Los seis libros de Galatea escrita por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Viage al Parnasso compuesto por el mismo</i> <sup>39</sup>	Madrid, 1784	3 v.; 8°, avec fig. (16 l.)	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
Miguel de Cervantes	<i>Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda. Historia setentrional</i> <sup>40</sup>	Madrid, 1781	Belle edition avec beaucoup de figures (13 l.)	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
Miguel de Cervantes	<i>Novelas exemplares</i> <sup>41</sup>	Madrid, 1783	2 v.; 8°. Figures.	De Bure (1796)
	<i>Novelas exemplares de Miguel de Cervantes, adornada y ilustrada de muy bellas estampas</i> <sup>42</sup>	En Haya, 1739	2 v., 8°	Prault (1765); Prault (1766)
[Jean-Pierre Claris de Florián]	<i>Novelas nuevas, escritas en francés, por M. de Florián, traducidas libremente e ilustradas con algunas notas curiosas e instructivas, por Don Gaspard Zavalier y Zamora</i> <sup>43</sup>		18°	Levrault (1801)
[Jean-Pierre Claris de Florián]	<i>Gonzalvo de Cordoba, por Florián, o la conquista de Grenada</i> <sup>44</sup>	Perpignan	2 v.; 18°	Levrault (1801)
[Philippe de Commynes]	<i>Memorias de Felipe de Comines, con notas de D.J. Vitrian</i>	Amberes, 1724	2 v.; fig.	Briasson (1730)

39 (En Madrid, por don Antonio de Sancha, 1784).

40 (En Madrid, por Antonio de Sancha, se hallará en su librería..., 1781).

41 (En Madrid, por don Antonio de Sancha..., 1783).

42 (Haya, J. Neaulme, 1739).

43 (Madrid, en la imprenta de la Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia, 1799).

44 *Gonzalvo de Cordoba, por Florián, o la conquista de Grenada, publicala en espagnol D.J. Lopez de Penalver.* (Perpignan, 1801).

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
J.L.B. Cormon	<i>Dictionnaire portatif et de prononciation, espagnol français et français espagnol a l'usage des deux nations; deuxième edit.</i> <sup>45</sup>	Lyon, 1803	2 v.; 8° (16 fr.)	Barrois
Quintus Curtius Rufus	<i>Quinto Curcio Rufo, trad. au español</i> <sup>46</sup>	Madrid, 1749	In-folio, relié (9 fr.)	Barrois
Dávila [Francisco Dávila Orejón Gastón]	<i>Política y mecanica militar por Sarjento Major por Dávila</i> <sup>47</sup>	Brusselas, 1684	8°	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Devociones y exercicios para un christiano</i>	Brusselas, 1707	12°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Diccionario de la lengua castellana, compuesto por la Real Academia Española; tercera edición</i>	Madrid, 1791 <sup>48</sup>	In-Fol (36 fr.)	Barrois
	<i>Diccionario americano</i>		2 v.; 4°	De Bure (1788)
	<i>Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria</i>		6 v.; 12° (15 l.)	De Bure (1788)
[Antonio Enríquez Gómez]	<i>Siglo pytagorico y la vida de D. Gregorio Guadana</i> <sup>49</sup>	Brusselas, 1727	4°	Briasson (1730)

45 J.L.B. Cormon, *Dictionnaire portatif et de prononciation, espagnol-français et français-espagnol a l'usage des deux nations, composé et rédigé fidèlement d'après la dernière édition du Dictionnaire de l'Académie Royale Espagnole ... augmenté, 1° d'une méthode de prononciation facile et sûre ... par J.L. Bartholome Cormon. Seconde édition, augmentée des éléments de la langue espagnole a l'usage d'un français et de ceux de la langue française a l'usage d'un espagnol, on y a joint un tableau de l'ancienne et de la nouvelle division de la France et de l'Espagne* (Lyon, Chez B. Coumon et Blanc, 1803), 2 v.

46 Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De la vida y acciones de Alexandro el Grande Quinto Curcio Rufo; traducido de la lengua latina en la española por Don Matheo Ibañez de Segovia y Orellana ...* (En Madrid, En la Imprenta de Antonio Perez de Soto ...: A costa de la Hermandad del glorioso San Geronymo..., 1749).

47 (En Brusselas, En casa de Francisco Foppens, 1684).

48 (Madrid, Joaquín Ibarra, 1791).

49 (En Bruselas, en Casa de Francisco Foppens, 1727).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Alonso de Ercilla	<i>La Araucana</i> <sup>50</sup>	Madrid, 1776	2 v.; 8° avec le portrait de l'auteur (7 l.)	De Bure (1788)
Bernardo Espinal y García	<i>Atlante español, o descripcion general geográfica, chronologica e historica de España, por reynos y provincias</i> <sup>51</sup>	En Madrid, 1778	13 v.; in 8°. Fig.	De Bure (1796)
	<i>Exercicio christiano</i>	Brusselas, 1664	24°	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Exercicio para la missa</i>	Brusselas, 1707		Briasson (1730)
Manuel de Faria e Souza	<i>Historia del reyno de Portugal</i> <sup>52</sup>	Bruselas, 1730	Fol.	Briasson (1)
	<i>Historia de Portugal</i>	Brusselas, 1639	Fol. Fig.	Briasson (1736); Briasson (1739)
[Fénélon]	<i>Aventuras de Telemaco</i>	Haya, 1613	12°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
[Fernández de Medrano, Sebastián]	<i>Elementos de Euclides</i>	Amveres, 1718	8°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
[Fernández de Medrano, Sebastián]	<i>El architecto perfetto en arte militar</i> <sup>53</sup>	Amberes, 1708	Fig.	Briasson (1730)
[Fernández de Medrano, Sebastián]	<i>El perfecto artificial Bombardero</i> <sup>54</sup>	Amberes, 1723	8°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)

50 (En Madrid, por D. Antonio de Sancha, 1776).  
51 (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Pantaleon Aznar, 1778).  
52 Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Historia del reyno de Portugal dividida en cinco partes, que contienen en compendio, sus poblaciones, las entradas de las naciones setentrionales en el reyno, su descripción antigua y moderna ... por Manuel de Faria y Sousa. Nueva edicion, enriquezida con las vidas de los quatro ultimos reyes, y con las cosas notables que acontecieron en el mundo durante el reynado de cada rey hasta el año de 1730* (En Brusselas, en casa de Francisco Foppens, 1730), Fol.  
53 (En Amberes, por Henrico y Cornelio Verdussen, mercaderes de libros, 1708).  
54 *El perfecto artificial, bombardero y artillero, que contiene los Artificios de Fuegos Marciales, Nuevo Uzo de Bombas, Granadas, y Practica de la Artilleria, y Mosquete, &c. ... Sebastian Fernández de Medrano ...* (En Amberes, Por Cornelio y la Viuda de Henrico Verdussen, 1723).



Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Fernández de Medrano, Sebastián]	<i>Geographia o moderna description del mundo</i> <sup>55</sup>	Amberes, 1709	2 v.; 8°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
Juan de Ferreras	<i>Historia de España</i> <sup>56</sup>	Madrid	15 v.; 4°	Briasson (1730); Briasson (1736)
Flechier	<i>Historia de Theodosio el Grande, por el ilustrissimo Flechier</i> <sup>57</sup>	Amberes, 1748	2 v.; In 12° (6 fr.)	Barrois
[Flechier, Esprit]	<i>La Historia del cardenal D. Fr. Ximenes, regente de España, traducida del francés por el arzobispo de Saragoça</i>	[En Leon de Francia: por Antonio Briasson]: 1719	8° 8°.	Briasson (1730) Briasson (1730); Jean Jombert (1722)
	<i>Historia del C.D. Fr. Ximenes</i> <sup>58</sup>	Leon, 1712		
Fleury	<i>Catechismo historico del abad Fleury, con estampas</i> <sup>59</sup>	Paris, 1717	2 v.; 12°	Briasson (1730); Jean Jombert (1722)
D. de Fuertes [Antonio de Fuertes y Biota]	<i>Vida de Moysen con sentencias y aforismos</i>	Amberes, 1719	2 v.; 8°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
[Carlos García]	<i>Opposition y conjonction de Francia y España, en françois &amp; en espagnol</i> <sup>60</sup>	Gand, 1645	8°.	Briasson (1730)

55 (Amberes, por Henrico y Cornelio Verdussen..., 1709).

56 (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Francisco del Hierro, 1716), 4°.

57 Esprit Flechier, Obispo de Nimes, *Historia de Theodosio El Grande compuesta en lengua francesa para instrucción del Señor Delphin por ... Flechier Obispo de Nimes; y traduzida en lengua castellana ...* (En Amberes, [s. n.]; y se vende en Leon de Francia: en casa de Jayme Certe, mercader de libros, 1748).

58 (En Leon de Francia, por Antonio Briasson en la calle de los Mercaderes á la Insignia de el Sol, 1712), 8°.

59 *Catecismo historico, ò compendio de la historia sagrada, y la doctrina cristiana compuesto en frances por el abad Fleury...*; y traducido al español por Dn Carlos de Velbeder (En Paris, por Pedro Witte..., 1717), 8°.

60 Carlos García, *La oposicion y coniuncion de los dos grandes luminaires de la Tierra, d'España y Francia, en la qual representan l'antipathia ... de españoles y franceses por D. Carlos Garcia; y de nuevo corrigido [sic] y añadido un compendio historial de los dos muy poderosos reynos d'España y Francia* (En Gante, de la Imprenta de Alexandro Serfanders Mercader de Libros, 1645).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Vicente García de la] Huerta	<i>Theatro espagnol</i> <sup>61</sup>	Madrid	18 v.; 12° (51 l.)	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
Garcilaso de la Vega	<i>Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega ilustradas con notas</i> <sup>62</sup>	En Madrid, 1788	18°, très jolie édition, avec le portrait de l'auteur très bien gravé	De Bure (1796)
Gaspar Gil Polo	<i>La Diana enamorada</i> <sup>63</sup>	Madrid, 1778	8°, fig. (3 l.)	De Bure (1788)
	<i>Los cinco libros de la Diana enamorada compuestas por Gaspar-Gil Polo</i> <sup>64</sup>	En Londres, 1739	8°	Prault (1766)
[Gaspar Ibáñez de Sego- via. Marqués de Mondejar]	<i>Cronicas de los reyes de Castilla</i> <sup>65</sup>	Madrid, 1783	4 v.; 4°. Avec des portraits (48 et 54 l.)	De Bure (1788)
[Claude-Marie] Gattel	<i>Nouveau dictionnaire de poche, français-espagnol et espagnol-français</i> <sup>66</sup>	Paris	1 v (6 fr.)	Barrois
[Claude-Marie] Gattel	<i>Dictionnaire françois-espagnol et espagnol-françois, avec l'interprétation latine de chaque mot, par Gattel</i> <sup>67</sup>	Lyon, 1803	4° (36 fr.)	Barrois

61 (Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, 1785).

62 (En Madrid, por don Antonio de Sancha, 1788).

63 *La Diana enamorada, cinco libros que prosiguen los VII de Jorge de Montemayor* (En Madrid, en la imprenta de ... Antonio de Sancha: se hallará en su casa en la Aduana Vieja, 1778).

64 *Los cinco libros de la Diana enamorada compuestos por Gaspar Gil Polo; dirigidos à ... Isabela Sutton por el que ha corregido y enmendado dicha obra, pues es el mesmo que corrigió a Don Quixote, impresso por J. Tonson* (Londres, por Thomas Woodward, 1739).

65 *Memorias historicas de la vida y acciones del Rey D. Alonso el Noble octavo del nombre recogidas por el marqués de Mondexar; e ilustrada con notas y apendices por Francisco Cerdá y Rico ...* (Madrid, en la imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1783).

66 Claude Marie Gattel, *Nouveau dictionnaire de poche, français-espagnol et espagnol-français, redigé d'après les meilleures lexicographes des deux nations* (A Paris, chez Bossange Masson et Besson, an VI-1798).

67 (A Lyon, Chez Bruyset aîné, An XI, 1803).

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Goëthe]	<i>Werther, en français et en espagnol</i>	Paris, 1803 <sup>68</sup>	2 v.; in 12° (4 fr.)	Barrois
José Antonio González de Salas	<i>Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua</i> <sup>69</sup>	En Madrid, 1778	2 v.; 12°	De Bure (1796)
Gracián	<i>Las obras de Lorenzo Gracian</i> <sup>70</sup>	Antwerp	2 v.; 4°	Jean Jombert (1722)
[Baltasar Gracián]	<i>Obras de Lorenzo Gratian</i> <sup>71</sup>	Amberes, 1702	2 v.; 4°	Briasson (1730)
P. Granada	<i>Oraciones y ejercicios de devocion</i>	Brusellas	18°	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Grandezas de Madrid</i>		8°	De Bure (1788)
Guarini	<i>Pastor fido poema de Batista Guarini trad. por Dona J. Correa</i> <sup>72</sup>	Amberes, 1694	8°	Briasson (1730)
[Giovanni Battista Guarini]				
[Felipe de la Guerra y de la Madrid]	<i>Tratado de la pereza o arte de emplear bien el tiempo</i> <sup>73</sup>	Brusselas, 1683	8°	Briasson (1730)
Tomás de Gusseme	<i>Diccionario numismatico general de las medallas antiguas</i> <sup>74</sup>	Madrid, 1773	5 v.; in 4° (30 fr.)	Barrois

68 (A Paris, De l'imprimerie de Guilleminet, Chez F. Louis, 1803).

69 *Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua o Ilustracion vltima al libro singular de Poetica de Aristoteles Stagirita* (En Madrid, por D. Antonio de Sancha: se hallará en su Librería..., 1778).

70 (En Amberes, en casa de Iuan Bautista Verdussen, 1702).

71 (En Amberes, en casa de Iuan Bautista Verdussen, 1702).

72 (En Amberez, por Henrico y Cornelio Verdussen..., 1694).

73 (En Bruselas, en casa de Francisco Foppens, 1683).

74 Tomás Andrés de Gusseme, *Diccionario numismatico general, para la perfecta inteligencia de las medallas antiguas, sus signos, notas, e inscripciones, y generalmente de todo lo que se contiene en ellas: con informe de las deidades paganas, héroes, ninfas, reyes, emperadores, augustas personas y familias: de las provincias, regiones, países, ciudades, pueblos, montes, rios, fuentes, arboles, plantas, frutas, animales, aves, peces, edificios, armas, magistrados, oficios, dignidades, y demas de que se hace expresion en ellas por D. Thomas Andres de Gusseme, Asistente, y Justicia Mayor de la villa de Marchena ...* (Madrid, por D. Joachin Ibarra, impresor..., 1773), 4°.

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Don Juan [Hidalgo]	<i>Romances de Germania de varios autores con el vocabulario por la orden del A.B.C. compuesto por Don Juan</i> <sup>75</sup>	Madrid, 1779	12° (2 l.)	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
	<i>Historia de Leopoldo primero</i>	Antwerp	3 v.; fol. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Historia de la provincia de Santa Marta en America</i>		4° (3 l.)	De Bure (1788)
P. Huarte [Juan Huarte de San Juan]	<i>Examen de los ingenios para las ciencias</i> <sup>76</sup>	Brusselas, 1702	12°	Briasson (1730)
José Antonio Ibáñez de la Rentería	<i>Panegiricos de Ibanez de la Renteria</i> <sup>77</sup>		2 v.; 8°	G. Martin (1737)
	<i>Incentivo del alma y piedra iman de los coraçones</i>	Brusselas, 1671	24°	Briasson (1730)
Tomás de Iriarte	<i>Colección de obras en verso y prosa de D. Tomas de Yriarte, que comprehende Fabulas literarias, la musica poema, comedias, &amp;c</i> <sup>78</sup>	En Madrid, 1787	6 v.; 8°.	De Bure (1796)
José Francisco de Isla	<i>Cartas familiares del P. Joseph Francisco de Isla, escritas a su hermana, y a su cunado D. Nicolás de Ayala</i> <sup>79</sup>	Madrid, 1785	6 v.; 12°.	De Bure (1796)

75 *Romances de Germania de varios autores, con el vocabulario ... para su declaracion de sus terminos y lengua compuesto por Juan Hidalgo. El discurso de la expulsion de los gitanos que escribió el doctor Sancho de Moncada ... Los romances de la Germania que escribió don Francisco de Quevedo* (En Madrid, por don Antonio de Sancha, 1779).

76 *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias donde se muestra la diferencia de habilidades que ay en los hombres ... compuesto por el Doctor Juan Huarte ...* (Bruselas, Francisco Foppens, 1702), 12°.

77 *Luz concionatoria de varios discursos panegyricos y morales, ilustrada de reflexiones evangélicas para diferentes assumptos* (En Paris, en la imprenta de Simon Langlois..., 1712).

78 (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Benito Cano, 1787).

79 (Madrid, en la imprenta del Consejo de Indias, 1785).

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Thomas à Kempis]	<i>Imitacion de Christo y menosprecio del mundo</i> <sup>80</sup>	Paris, 1713	18°	Briasson (1730); Briasson (1736)
Eugenio Larruga	<i>Memorias políticas y económicas sobre los frutos, comercio, fábricas y minas de España</i> <sup>81</sup>	En Madrid, 1787	2 v.; 4°	De Bure (1796)
Lope de Vega	<i>Colección de las obras sueltas, de D. Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, así en prosa como en verso</i> <sup>82</sup> Les mêmes	En Madrid, 1776	21 v.; 4° (120 l.) Grand papier	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796) De Bure (1788)
Pedro López de Ayala	<i>Crónica de los reyes de Castilla</i> <sup>83</sup>	En Madrid, 1779	4 v.; 4°, avec des portraits	De Bure (1796)
[Juan José López de Sedano]	<i>Parnaso español, colleccion de poesías escogidas de los mas celebres poetas castellanos</i> <sup>84</sup>	Madrid, Ibarra, 1768	9 v.; 8°. Avec les portraits	De Bure (1796)

80 *Los IV. libros de la Imitacion de Christo, y menosprecio del mundo. Compuestos en Latin por el venerable Tomas de Kempis, canonigo reglar de San Agustin, y traduzidos en español por el padre Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, de la compañía de Jesus, emendados de muchos errores en esta edicion, à que van juntas las Reflexiones morales, y christianas, sobre el primer libro, compuestas en frances por S.A.R. Madama la duqueza de Guisa. Van añadidos los Dicitamenes de espíritu, y perfección del mismo padre Juan Eusebio* (En Paris, por Pedro Witte, mercader de libros en la calle de Santiago, en frente la calle de la parchemineria, al angel de guardia. M. DCC. XIII, con aprobacion, y licencia de su Magestad), 18°.

81 *Memorias políticas y económicas sobre los frutos, comercio, fábricas y minas de España, con inclusión de los reales decretos, ordenes, cédulas, aranceles y ordenanzas expedidas para su gobierno y fomento: tomo 1, que trata de los frutos, minas y comercio de la provincia de Madrid* (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Benito Cano, 1787).

82 (En Madrid, en la imprenta de don Antonio de Sancha, en la Aduana Vieja, donde se hallará, 1776).

83 *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla Don Pedro, Don Enrique 11, Don Juan 1, Don Enrique 111 por D. Pedro Lopez de Ayala ... con las enmiendas del Secretario Geronimo Zurita; y las correcciones y notas añadidas por Don Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola...; tomo 1 que comprende la cronica del Rey Don Pedro* (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Don Antonio de Sancha. Se hallará en su Librería en la Aduana Vieja, 1779).

84 (Madrid, por Joachin Ibarra: se hallará ... en la Librería de Antonio Sancha..., 1768).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Jorge Manrique	<i>Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, con las glosas en verso de Francisco de Guzmán</i> <sup>85</sup>	Madrid, 1779	12° (2 l.).	De Bure (1788)
Jorge Manrique	<i>Coplas de D. Jorge Manrique, con las glosas en verso de Francisco de Guzmán</i> <sup>86</sup>	Madrid, 1779	12°	De Bure (1796)
[Esteban Manuel de Villegas]	<i>Traducion de Boecio</i> <sup>87</sup>	Madrid	2 v.; 8° (6 l.)	De Bure (1788)
Juan de Mariana	<i>Historia general de España, compuesta, emendada y añadida por el Padre, Juan de Mariana, de la Compañía de Jesús</i>	[En Leon de Francia: por Antonio Briasson]: 1719	11 v.; 12° 2 v.; in Fol. Superbe edition, imprimée par Ibarra (48 l.)	Briasson (1730); Jean Jombert (1722); Briasson (1736)
	<i>Historia general de España compuesta por el Padre Juan de Mariana, decima parte quinta impresion</i> <sup>88</sup>	Madrid, 1780	17 v.; 12°	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
	<i>Historia de Espagna, por Juan de Mariana, con la continuación del P. Miniana</i> <sup>89</sup>	1739		Briasson (1739)

85 *Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, hechas a la muerte de su padre Don Rodrigo Manrique, con las glosas en verso a ellas de [Francisco] de Guzman, del P. Don Rodrigo de Valdepeñas, monge Cartujo, del proto-notario Luis Perez, y del licdo. Alonso de Cervantes* (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha, se hallará en su casa, en la Aduana Vieja, 1779).

86 *Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, hechas a la muerte de su padre Don Rodrigo Manrique con las glosas en verso a ellas de [Francisco] de Guzman, del P. Don Rodrigo de Valdepeñas, monge Cartujo, del proto-notario Luis Perez, y del licdo. Alonso de Cervantes* (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha, se hallará en su casa, en la Aduana Vieja, 1779).

87 *Las Eroticas y traducción de Boecio* (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha se hallará en su librería..., 1774).

88 (En Madrid, por Andres Ramirez, 1780).

89 (En Amberes, a costa de Marcos-Miguel Bousquet y Compañía, 1739).

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Juan] Márquez	<i>Governador christiano deducido de las vidas de Moysen y Josue</i>	Brusselas, 1655	Fol.	Briasson (1730)
Pomponio Mela	<i>Compendio geographico i historico de el orbe antiguo, i descripcion de el sitio de la tierra. Escripta por Pomponio Mela, segunda edición</i> <sup>90</sup>	Madrid, 1780	8° (2 l.).	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
Francisco de Moncada	<i>Expedicion de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos</i> <sup>91</sup>	Madrid, 1777	8° (2 l.)	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
[Pedro Montengón]	<i>Eusebio novella</i> <sup>92</sup>		3 v.; 8°	De Bure (1788)
[Alvaro Navía Osorio, Santa Cruz de Marcenado, Marqués de]	<i>Reflexiones militares del viconde de Puerto, marqués de sancta Cruz</i> <sup>93</sup>	Turin	10 v.; 4°	Briasson (1736)
[Juan Eusebio] Nieremberg	<i>Aforismos o dictámenes, del P. Nieremberg</i> <sup>94</sup>	Brusselas, [en casa de Juan Mommarte], 1664	12° 8°. Con fig.	Briasson (1730) Briasson (1730)
	<i>Differentia entre lo temporal y eterno</i> <sup>95</sup>	Amberes, 1707		
	<i>Obras de Ramundo Lullo</i>	Fol.		Briasson (1730); Briasson (1736); Briasson (1739)

90 (En Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha..., 1780).

91 (Madrid, por Antonio de Sancha, 1777).

92 (Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1786).

93 (En Turín, por Juan Francisco Mairesse, 1727).

94 *Aforismos, o dictámenes del Padre Juan Eusebio Nieremberg ... recogidos de sus obras, añadidos y divididos en siete centurias ... por el mismo autor* (En Bruselas, en casa de Juan Mommarte, 1664).

95 *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno, crisol de desengaños con la memoria de la eternidad, postrimerías humanas y principales misterios divinos* (Amberes, 1707).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Nicolás] Oliver [y Fullana]	<i>Guerras de Ungria con la description deste reyno</i> <sup>96</sup>	Colonia, 1687	4°	Briasson (1730)
Palafox	<i>Ano espiritual por Palafox</i> <sup>97</sup>	Brusselas, 1662	4 v.; 8°	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Carta pastoral y conocimientos de la divina gratia</i> <sup>98</sup>	Brusselas, 1671	12°	Briasson (1730)
[Juan Palafox y Mendoza]	<i>Exercicios y devociones</i> <sup>99</sup>		18°	G. Martin (1737)
[Juan de Palafox y Mendoza]	<i>Sitio y socorro de Fontarabia y successos del anno 1638</i> <sup>100</sup>	Madrid, 1639	4°	Briasson (1736); Briasson (1739)
Antonio Palomino Velasco	<i>Vidas de los pintores y estatuarios españoles</i> <sup>101</sup>	Londres, 1742	8°	Briasson (1)

96 Nicolás Oliver y Fullana, *Recopilación histórica de los reyes, guerras, tumultos y rebeliones de Ungria, desde su poblacion por los hunnos hasta el año presente 1687 ...: resumida en estilo breue, claro y comprehensiuo, de autores graves antiguos y modernos ...* (Colonia, per Balthasar Egmont: se hallan en Bruselas en casa de Francisco Foppens, 1687), 4°.

97 Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Año espiritual dividido en meses y semanas que comprehende en el invierno el temor de las postrimerias, en la primavera la hermosura de las virtudes...: parte primera ofrecela al mayor aprovechamiento espiritual de los fieles ... Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obispo de Osmá ...* (En Brusselas, por Francisco Foppens, impressor y mercader de libros, 1662), 8°.

98 Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Carta pastoral, y conocimientos de la divina gracia, bondad, y misericordia, y de nuestra flaqueza ... Del illustrissimo señor don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza ...* (En Brusselas, en casa de Francisco Foppens..., 1671).

99 Possibly this edition: Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Exercicios devotos o Devociones quotidiano, en que se pide a la Virgen santissima su amparo para la hora de la muerte, obra compuesta por ... D. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obispo de Osmá; a la que se añaden en esta impresion las oraciones para la misa, para confesar y comulgar y el Via-Crucis con estampas; corregida por D. Pedro Díaz ...* (En Madrid, en la imprenta de D. Pedro Marin: a costa de la Real Compañía de impresores y libreros, 1781).

100 (Madrid, Catalina del Barrio, 1639).

101 Antonio Palomino de Castro, *Las vidas de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles, que con sus heroycas obras, han ilustrado la nación, y de aquellos estrangeros, que han concurrido en estas provincias ... con sus eminentes obras, por Don Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velazco ...* (Londres, Impresso por Henrique Woodfall: a costa de Claude Du Bosc & Guillermo Darres..., 1742). 8°.



Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
[Patricio de la Torre]	<i>Ensayo sobre la gramatica y poética de los árabes</i> <sup>102</sup>		4° (3 l)	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
J.E. Pellizer <sup>103</sup>	<i>Grammaire espagnole composée sur celle de l'Académie Espagnole par M. l'Abbé J.E. de Pellizer</i>	Paris, 1786 <sup>104</sup>	8° (2 fr.).	Barrois
[Juan Pérez de Montalbán]	<i>Novellas de Montalon, y sucesos y prodigios de amor</i> <sup>105</sup>	Brusellas	12°	Briasson (1730)
[Ioannes Pinius]	<i>Liturgia antiqua hispanica, gothica, isidoriana, mozarabica, toletana mixta illustrata, adjectis vetustis monumentis cum additionibus, scholiis, &amp; variantibus lectionibus, ad vetustissimorum codicum fidem exactis</i> <sup>106</sup>	Romae, 1746	2 v.; in fol (18 l.)	De Bure (1752)
Cristóval Pla	<i>Colección de varias piezas tanto en verso como en prosa, sacadas de los mejores autores españoles, como Cervantes, Yriarte, Quevedo, Torres, etc.</i>	León, 1803 <sup>107</sup>	2 v.; in-18° (3 fr.).	Barrois
[Antonio Ponz]	<i>Viage de Espana</i> <sup>108</sup>	Madrid	2 v.; 8° (7 et 8 l.)	De Bure (1788)

102 *Ensayos sobre la gramática y poética de los árabes, que ofrecen al público exámen ... Fr. Patricio de la Torre ... Orden de S. Gerónimo ... y don Miguel Garcia Asensio ... en los Reales Estudios de San Isidro; asistidos de ... don Mariano Pizzi...; precede un discurso sobre la necesidad y utilidad de este idioma ...* (Madrid, en la imprenta de don Antonio de Sancha, 1787).

103 Joseph-Emmanuel de de Pellizer García.

104 (A Paris, chez Théophile Barrois le jeune, Libraire, Quai des Augustins, n° 18, 1786).

105 Possibly one of the editions printed in Brussels in the seventeenth century: the 1626 pirate edition printed by Huberto Antonio, a reproduction of the *princeps* of 1624; or the 1702 edition printed by Francisco Foppens.

106 (Romae, typis et sumptibus Hieronymi Mainardi, 1746).

107 (En Leon, Se hallará en la librería de Reymann y comp. En Paris, en la de Brunot, librero calle de Grenelle Honoré, n.º 13. An XI. 1803).

108 (Madrid, por D. Joachin Ibarra, 1772–1794).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Antonio Ponz	<i>Viage fuera de España, (en Francia, Holanda, Inglaterra)</i> <sup>109</sup>	Madrid, 1785	2 v.; 12°	De Bure (1796)
[Balthasar Porreno]	<i>Dichos y echos de Felipe II, y descripción del Paese baxo</i> <sup>110</sup>	Brusselas, 1702	12°	Briasson (1730)
Quevedo	<i>Obras de Fr. de Quevedo</i> <i>Obras de don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas</i> <sup>111</sup>	Barcelona, 1702	3 v.; 4° 5 v.; 4°	G. Martin (1737) Prault (1765)
[Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País]	<i>Memorias de la Sociedad Económica</i> <sup>112</sup>	Madrid, 1780	2 v.; 4° (24 l.)	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
[Real Sociedad de Medicina, y demás Ciencias de Sevilla]	<i>Memorias académicas de la Real Sociedad de Medicina, y demás ciencias de Sevilla, desde el año 1765 hasta 1788</i> <sup>113</sup>	En Sevilla, 1766	7 v.; 12°	De Bure (1796)
Diego Antonio Rejón de Silva	<i>La pintura, poema didactico en tres cantos</i> <sup>114</sup>	En Segovia, 1786	Gr. 8°. Ce volumen est imprimé du même format que le poëme de la Musique d'Yriarte, & peut faire suite a cet ouvrage	De Bure (1796)
	<i>Rezo de un cavallero de la orden de S. Jago</i>	Brusselas, 1663	18°.	Briasson (1730)

109 (Madrid, por D. Joachin Ibarra..., 1785).

110 Balthasar Porreño, *Los dichos y hechos del rey Philipe II. Llamado con justa razón, et Prudente. Al fin deste librito se pone una breve descripcion del Pays-Baxo* (En Brusselas, Por Francisco Foppens, 1702).

111 (Barcelona, por Jayme Surià ... vendese en su casa, en la de Iuan Piferrer ... y Iayme Batlle..., 1702).

112 (Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha..., 1780).

113 ([Sevilla], impresso ... en la Imprenta de Francisco Sánchez..., 1766).

114 (En Segovia, por Don Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, 1786).

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
José Rodríguez de Castro	<i>Bibliotheca española, que contiene la noticia de los escritores rabinos españoles, gentiles españoles, y la de los christianos hasta fines del siglo XIII de la iglesia</i> <sup>115</sup>	Madrid, 1781	2 v.; in fol.	De Bure (1796)
[Jean Rousset de Missy]	<i>Histoire secreete de la cour de Madrid</i> <sup>116</sup>		12°	G. Martin (1737)
Thomás Antonio Sánchez	<i>Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo xv</i> <sup>117</sup>	Madrid, 1779	3 v.; 8°.	De Bure (1788)
Sancta Cruz [Melchor de Santa Cruz]	<i>Floresta espagnola de sententias o apotegmas</i> <sup>118</sup>	Brusselas, 1702	12°	Briasson (1730)
Juan de Santo Thomás	<i>Explication de la doctrina christiana</i> <sup>119</sup>	Amberes, 1700	12°	Briasson (1730)
[Prudencio de] Sandóval	<i>Historia de Carlos v</i> <sup>120</sup>	Amberes, 1681	2 v.; Fol. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
[Leandro Santibáñez]	<i>Retrato político de Alcantara</i> <sup>121</sup>		4°	De Bure (1788)

115 *Biblioteca española. Tomo primero, que contiene la noticia de los escritores rabinos españoles desde la época conocida de su literatura hasta el presente* (En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1781).

116 *Histoire publique et secreete de la cour de Madrid: d'es l'avenement du roi Philippe v à la couronne; avec des considerations sur l'etat présent de la monarchie espagnole* (A Cologne, chez Pierre le Sincere, 1719).

117 *Coleccion de poesias castellanas anteriores al siglo xv, preceden noticias para la vida del primer Marqués de Santillana; y la carta que escribió al Condestable de Portugal sobre el origen de nuestra poesía ilustrada con notas por D. Thomas Antonio Sánchez ...* (En Madrid, por don Antonio de Sancha. Se hallará en su librería en la Aduana Vieja, 1779).

118 (Bruselas, Francisco Foppens, 1702).

119 *Explicacion de la Doctrina Christiana, añadense las censuras ecclesiasticas, casos reservados y irregularidades, ítem la práctica para ayudar a bien morir por ... Fr. Juan de S. Thomas, del orden, de S. Domingo ...* (En Amberes, por Henrico y Cornelio Verdussen, 1700).

120 Prudencio Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos v ... Rey catholico de España y de las Indias ... por ... Fray Prudencio de Sandoval ... Obispo de Pamplona ...* (En Amberes, por Geronymo Verdussen, impressor y mercader de libros, 1681), Fol.

121 *Retrato político de Alcantara, causas de sus progresos y decadencia* (En Madrid, en la imprenta de Blas Roman, 1779).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Phelipe Scio de San Miguel	<i>La Biblia vulgata latina, traducida en español y anotada, por el Padre Phelipe Scio de San Miguel</i> <sup>122</sup>		2 v.; Fol. Très belle edition. Ces deux volumes renferment le Nouveau Testament	De Bure (1796)
Bernardo Sierra	<i>Ramillete de divinas flores</i> <sup>123</sup>	Brusselas, 1670	2 v.; 12°.	Briasson (1730)
Francisco Sobrino	<i>Diccionario nuevo de las lenguas espagnola y francesa, per Francisco Sobrino</i> <sup>124</sup>	Brusselas, 1760	2 v.; 4°	Briasson (1730); G. Martin
	<i>Dictionnaire espagnol-françois, &amp; François-espagnol</i> <sup>125</sup>	Paris, 1740	12°	(1737)
	<i>Grammaire nouvelle espagnole &amp; Française</i> <sup>126</sup>	(s.a.) <sup>127</sup>	12°	Prault (1765);
	<i>Grammatica spagnuola</i>	Nouvelle <sup>128</sup>	8° (5 fr.)	Prault (1766);
	<i>Grammaire nouvelle, espagnole et Française</i>			Guillyn (1754)
				Prault (1765);
				Prault (1766)
				Briasson (1); De
				Bure (1752)
				Barrois; G.
				Martin (1737)
Francisco Sobrino	<i>Secrétaire espagnol</i>		8°	G. Martin (1737)

122 *La Biblia, vulgata latina traducida en español y anotada conforme al sentido de los santos padres y expositores cathólicos por el padre Phelipe Scio de San Miguel ...* (En Valencia, en la oficina de Joseph y Thomas de Orga, 1790).

123 (En Brusselas, Por Francisco Foppens, 1670).

124 *Diccionario nuevo de las lenguas española y francesa, el mas amplo y el mejor que a salido à luz hasta aora, en que se contiene la explicacion del español en frances, y del francés en español, en dos partes ... por ... Francisco Sobrino ...* (En Brusselas, en casa de Francisco Foppens..., 1705; 1721; Pedro Foppens, 1734), 4°.

125 (En Brusselas, En la imprenta de Henrique-Alberto Gosse..., 1760).

126 (A Paris, chez Pierre Witte..., 1740).

127 Possibly one of the editions printed in Brussels by Francisco Foppens (1712, 1732, 1738, 1745, 1752), in duodecimo format.

128 Possibly the edition of: *Brusselle, chez François Foppens* (1703, 1717); *Parisiis, chez Pierre Witte* (1740); or the edition of *Madrid, Chez Sancha* (1793), as these are the only ones in octavo format.

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Francisco Sobrino	<i>Dictionnaire espagnol, françois &amp; latin, &amp; françois &amp; espagnol; nouvelle edition, augmentée par Cormon</i> <sup>129</sup>	En Ambers. (Lyon), 1789	3 tom. en 2 v. 4°.	De Bure (1796)
Francisco Sobrino	<i>Dialogues espagnols &amp; François</i> <sup>130</sup>		8°	G. Martin (1737)
Francisco Sobrino	<i>Dialogues nouveaux en espagnol &amp; en François, avec beaucoup de proverbes, &amp;c.</i> <sup>131</sup>	Bruxelles, 1724	8°	De Bure (1796)
[Antonio de] Solís	<i>Historia de la conquista del Mexico</i> <sup>132</sup>	Brusselas, 1700 Madrid, [1783] Madrid, 1783	Fol., fig. 2 v.; 4°. Belle edit. avec fig. 2 v.; 4°. Avec beaucoup de figures, très bien gravées. Superbe édition	Briasson (1730) De Bure (1788) De Bure (1796)
Antonio de Solís	<i>Historia de la conquista de México</i> <sup>133</sup>	Amberes, 1704	1 v.; in Fol., avec beaucoup de figures. (13 fr)	Barrois
[Famiano] Strada	<i>Guerras de Flandes par Stradda continuadas por Dondino</i> <sup>134</sup>	Amberes, 1701	3 v.; 8°. fig.	Briasson (1730)
Christóval Suárez de Figueroa	<i>La constante amaryllis</i> <sup>135</sup>	Madrid, 1781	8°. (2 l.).	De Bure (1788)

129 (A Anvers, aux dépens de Piestre & Delamolliere, 1789).

130 *Dialogues nouveaux espagnols, expliquez en François, contenant beaucoup de proverbes, & des explications de plusieurs façons de parler, propes à la langue espagnole ...* (A Brusselle, chez François Foppens, 1708).

131 (Brusselles, François Foppens, 1724).

132 *Historia de la conquista de Mexico, poblacion y progresos de la America Septentrional conocida por el nombre de Nueva España, escribiela Don Antonio de Solís...*

133 *Historia de la conquista de México, poblacion y progresos de la America septentrional conocida por el nombre de Nueva España escriviola Don Antonio de Solís ...* (En Amberes, en casa de Juan Bautista Verdussen, 1704), Fol.

134 Famiano Strada, *Primera década de las Guerras de Flandes, desde la muerte del emperador Carlos v hasta el principio del gobierno de Alexandro Farnese ... escrita en latín por el R.P. Famiano Estrada, de la Compañía de Jesús; y traducida en romance por el R.P. Melchor de Novar, de la misma Compañía* (En Amberes, por Henrico y Cornelio Verdussen, 1701), 8°.

135 *La constante amarilis, prosas y versos* (En Madrid, por D. Antonio de Sancha, 1781).

TABLE 10 *List of Spanish books available in Parisian bookshops of the eighteenth century (cont.)*

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
Santa Teresa	<i>Exclamaciones de Sancta Teresa, con las sententias de S. Juan de la Cruz</i>	Brusselas, 1716	12°	Briasson (1730)
Santa Teresa de Jesús	<i>Obras</i>	Anveres, 1649 <sup>136</sup>	4 v.; in 4° (18 fr.)	Barrois
[Vicente Tofiño de San Miguel]	<i>Derrotero de las costas de España</i> <sup>137</sup>		4°	De Bure (1788)
Torner	<i>Discurso sobre el hombre</i>		4° (16 l.)	De Bure (1788)
L'Abbé de Valdory	<i>Anecdotes du ministere du comte-Duc d'Olivares</i> <sup>138</sup>		12°	G. Martin (1737)
Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor	<i>Semanario erudito que comprehende varias obras inéditas, criticas, morales, políticas, históricas, satíricas y jocosas de nuestros mejores autores antiguos y modernos, da las a luz D. Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor</i>	Madrid, 1784 <sup>139</sup>	34 v.; 4°.	De Bure (1796)
J. Velázquez	<i>Ensayo sobre los alphabetos de las letras desconocidas</i> <sup>140</sup>	Madrid, 1752	1 v.; in 4° (6 fr.)	Barrois

<sup>136</sup> (En Anueres, en la imprenta Plantiniana de Balthasar Moreto, 1649), 4°.

<sup>137</sup> *Derrotero de las costas de España en el Mediterráneo y su correspondiente de Africa, para inteligencia y uso de las Cartas esféricas presentadas al rey nuestro señor por el Excmo. Sr. Baylio Fr. don Antonio Valdés ... por ... Vicente Tofiño de San Miguel ...* (Madrid, en la imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, Hijos, y Compañía, 1787).

<sup>138</sup> *Anecdotes du ministere du comte Duc d'Olivarés, tirées & traduites de l'italien du Mercurio Siry par monsieur de Valdory* (A Paris, chez Jean Musier ... et François Barois, 1722).

<sup>139</sup> Almost certainly a printing error on De Bure's part, as there was no 1784 edition (although there is one from 1787).

<sup>140</sup> Luis José Velázquez de Velasco, Marqués de Valdeflores. *Ensayo sobre los alphabetos de las letras desconocidas, que se encuentran en las mas antiguas medallas y monumentos de España por don Luis Joseph Velazquez ... de la Academia Real de la Historia; escrito, revisto y publicado de Orden de la misma Academia* (En Madrid, en la Oficina de Antonio Sanz..., 1752), 4°.

Author	Title	Edition	Physical description and price	Bookshop
P. Vidal [José Vidal]	<i>Memorias tiernas y devociones con los Dolores de la santa Virgen</i>	Amberes, 1605	8°. Fig.	Briasson (1730)
Joseph de Villaviciosa	<i>La Mosquea</i> <sup>141</sup>	Madrid, 1777	12°, avec le portrait [du auteur]	De Bure (1788); De Bure (1796)
Vitrubio	<i>Vitruvio en español</i> <sup>142</sup>	En Madrid, en la	In fol. Nouvelle	De Bure (1788)
	<i>Los diez libros de Architectura de M. Vitruvio Polion, traducidos del latin, y comentados por Don Joseph Ortiz y Sanz</i>	Imprenta Real, 1787	traduction & et belle edition (66 et 72 l.) Trés-grand in folio, avec beaucoup de figures. Superbé edition.	De Bure (1796)
[Miguel de Zabala y Auñón]	<i>Miscellanea economico-politica, o discursos varios</i> <sup>143</sup>	Pamplona, 1749	In-folio (2 fr.)	Barrois
Zaragoca [José Zaragoza]	<i>Esphera celeste y terráquea</i> <sup>144</sup>	Madrit, 1675	4°	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Geometria speculativa y practica de los planos y solidos</i> <sup>145</sup>	Valenzia, 1661	4°	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Arithmetica universal</i> <sup>146</sup>	Valencia, 1669	4°	Briasson (1730)
	<i>Trigonometria espagnola</i> <sup>147</sup>	Mallorca, 1672		Briasson (1730)

141 *La Mosquea: poetica inventiva en octava rima, compuesta por Don Joseph de Villaviciosa* (En Madrid, por Antonio de Sancha, 1777).

142 *Los diez libros de archtectura de M. Vitruvio Polion; traducidos del latín y comentados por Don Joseph Ortiz y Sanz ...* (En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, 1787).

143 Miguel de Zabala y Auñón, *Miscelanea economico-política, o Discursos varios sobre el modo de aliviar los vassallos con aumento de el real erario parto feliz de tres sutiles plumas ... quales son la de Miguel de Zabala, y Auñon ... la de Martín de Loynaz..., finalmente la de un señor ministro practico en la sugeta materia ... salen baxo la proteccion de ... Thomas Pinto Miguel* (En Pamplona, Por los herederos de Martinez, 1749), Fol.

144 (En Madrid, por Iuan Martin del Barrio, 1675).

145 Probably a printing error, as the only Valencia edition dates from 1671.

146 *Arithmetica universal, que comprehende [sic] el arte menor y maior, algebra vulgar y especiosa author el ... P. Ioseph Zaragoza, de la Compañia de Iesus ...* (En Valencia, por Geronimo Vilagrassa..., 1669).

147 *Trigonometria española, resolucion de los triangulos planos, y esfericos, fabrica, y uso de los senos, y logarithmos author el M.R.P. Ioseph Zaragoza, de la Compañia de Iesus...; dale a la estampa don Antonio de la Zerda ...* (En Mallorca, por Francisco Oliver, 1672).

## Catalogues of Parisian Booksellers of Eighteenth-century Paris



FIGURE 26.1A *Catalogues of Antoine-Claude Briasson*



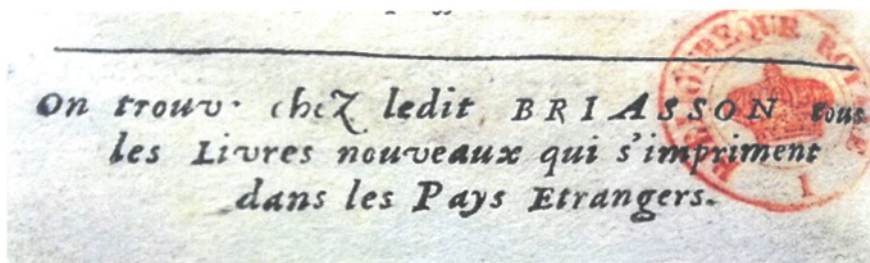


FIGURE 26.1B Catalogues of Antoine-Claude Briasson

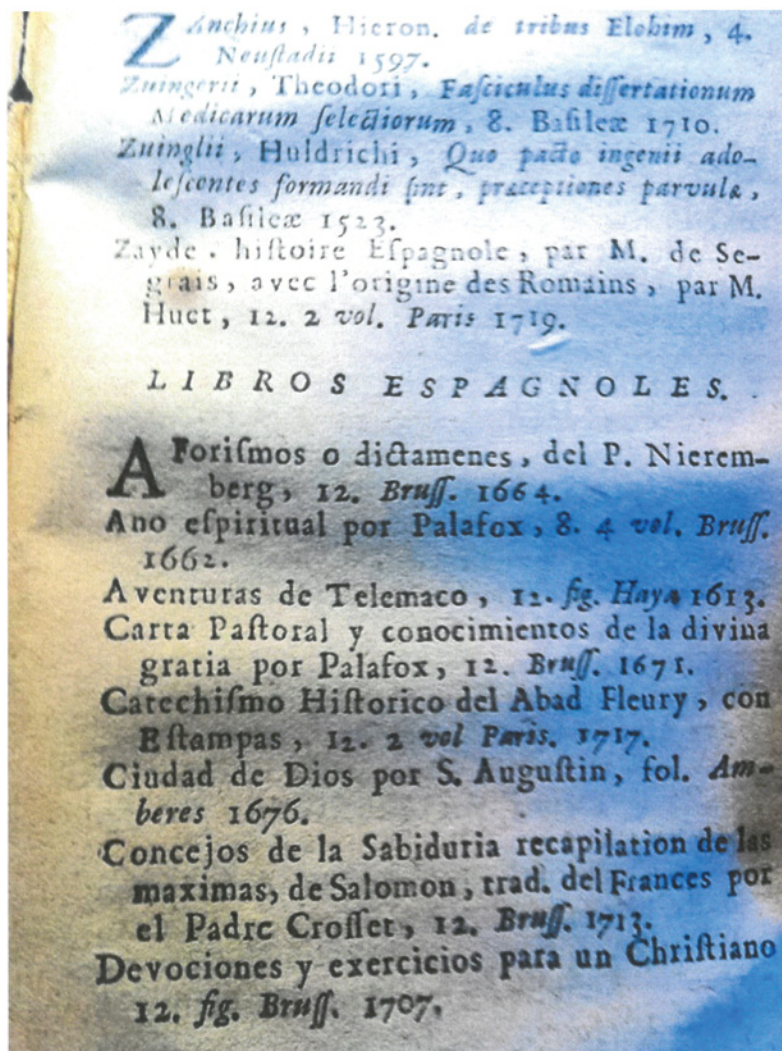


FIGURE 26.1C Catalogues of Antoine-Claude Briasson

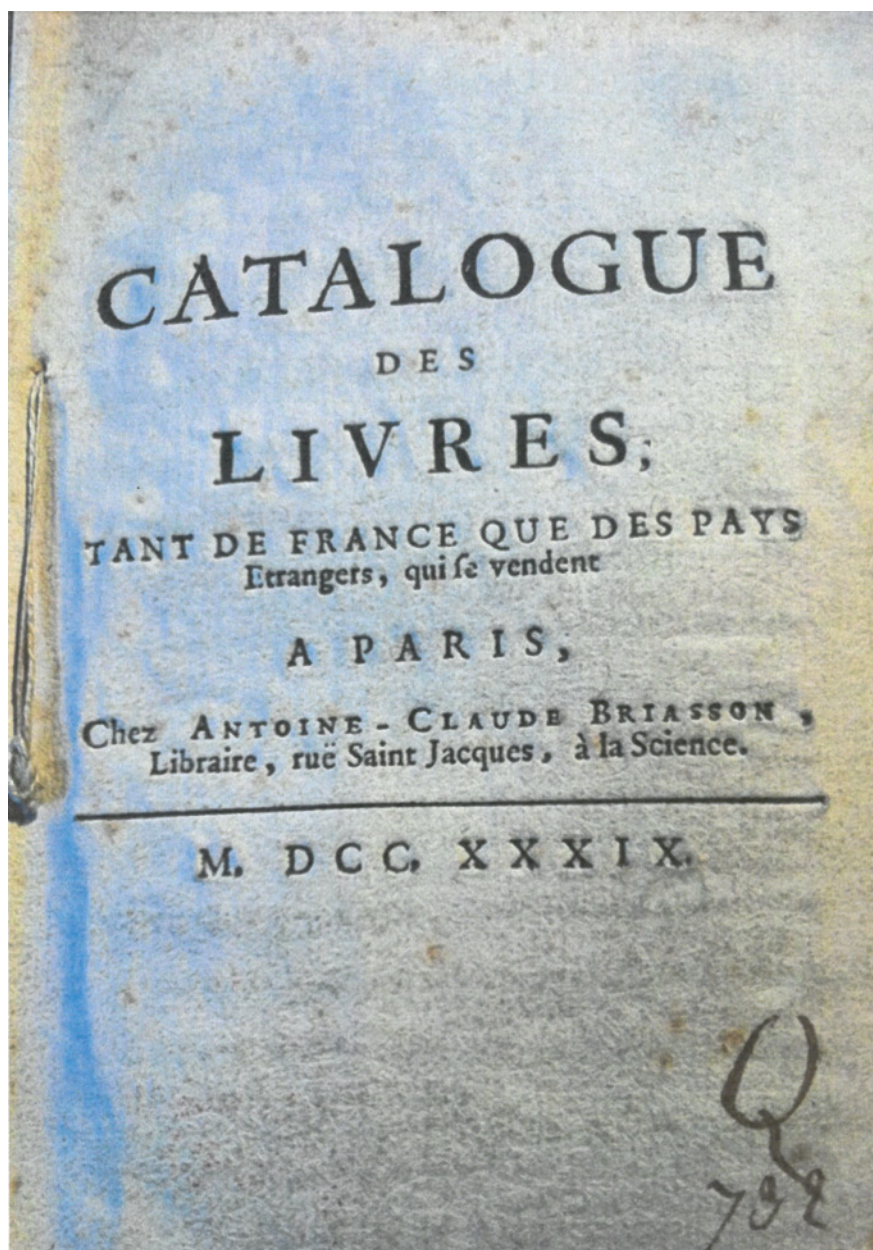


FIGURE 26.1D *Catalogues of Antoine-Claude Briasson*



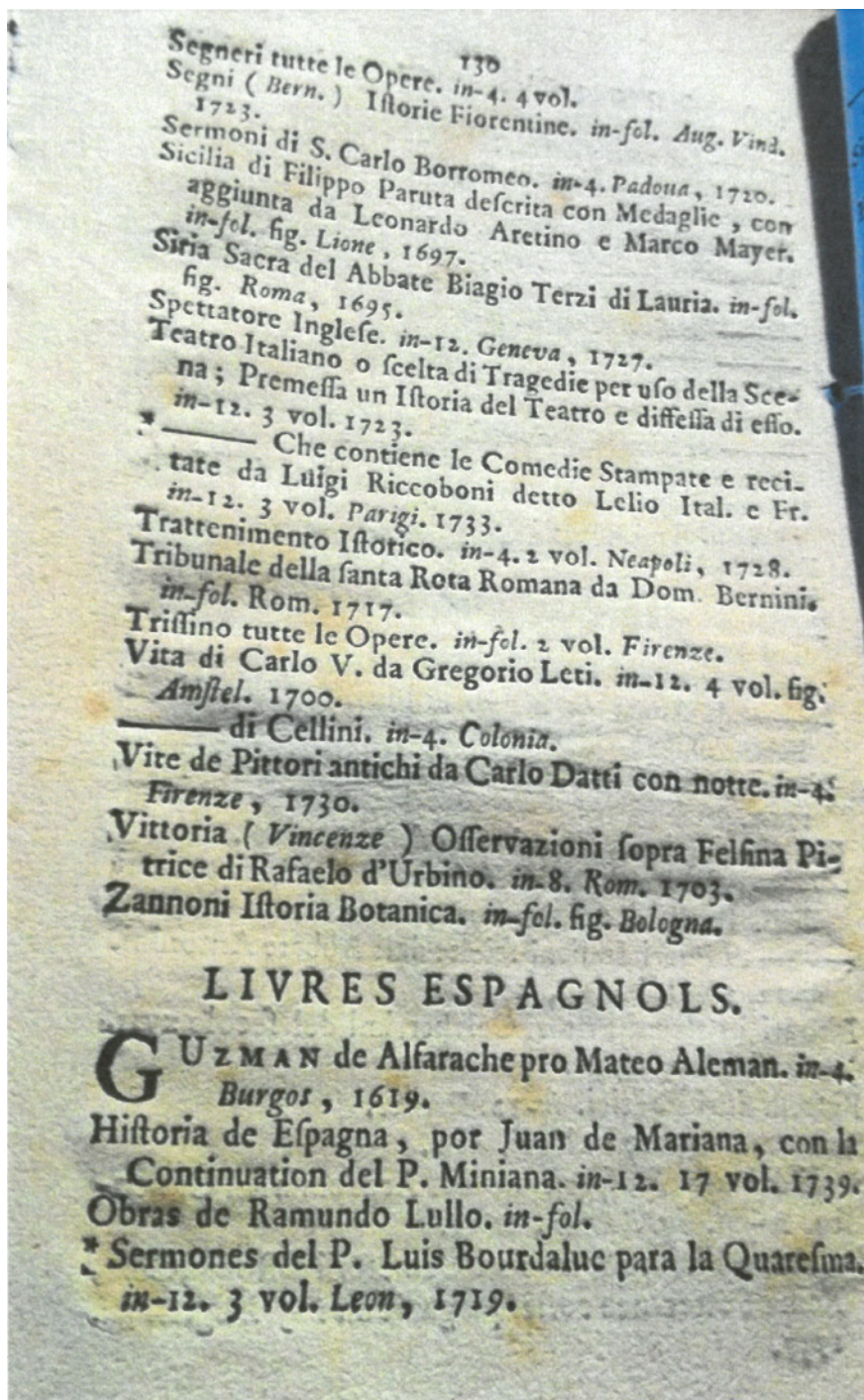


FIGURE 26.1E Catalogues of Antoine-Claude Briasson

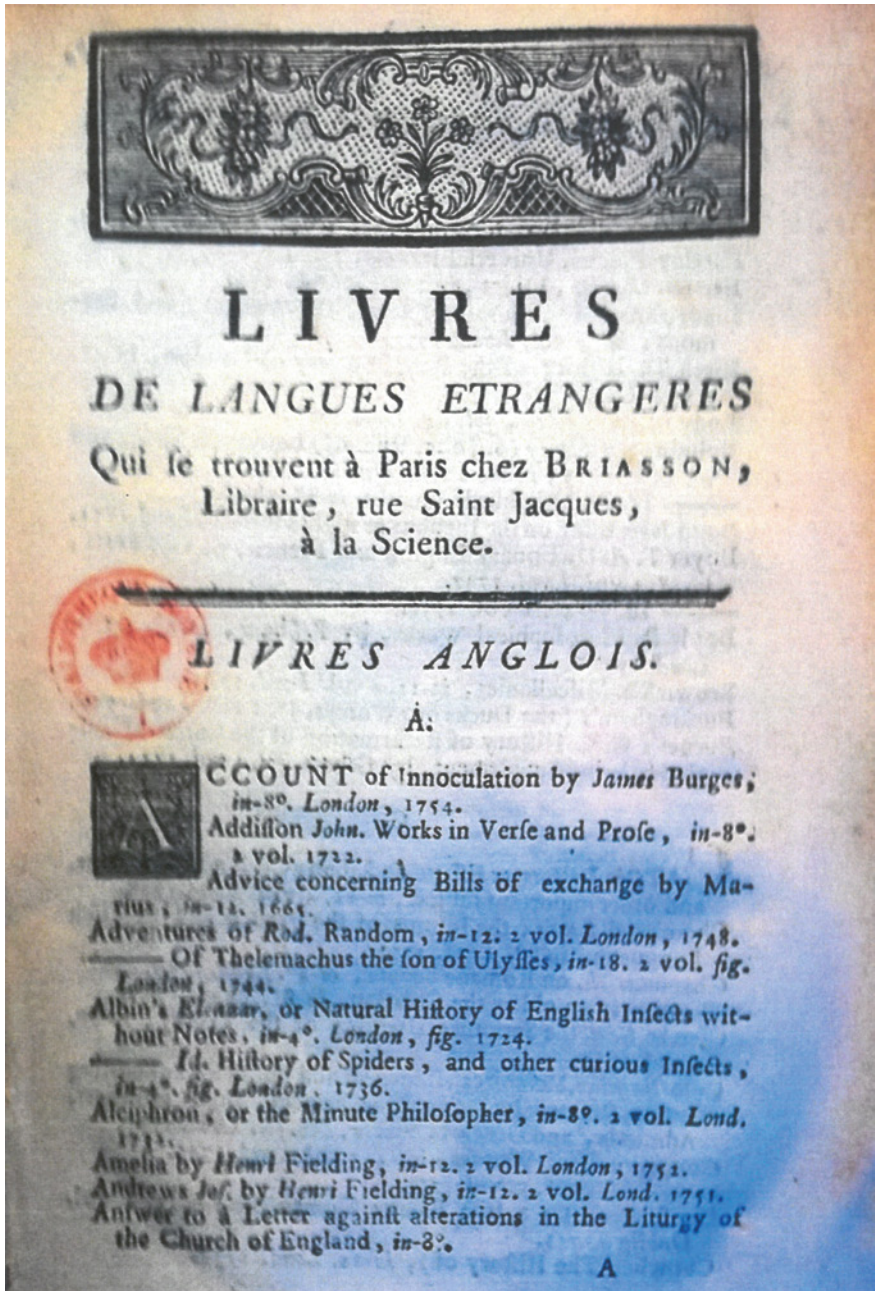


FIGURE 26.1F Catalogues of Antoine-Claude Briasson



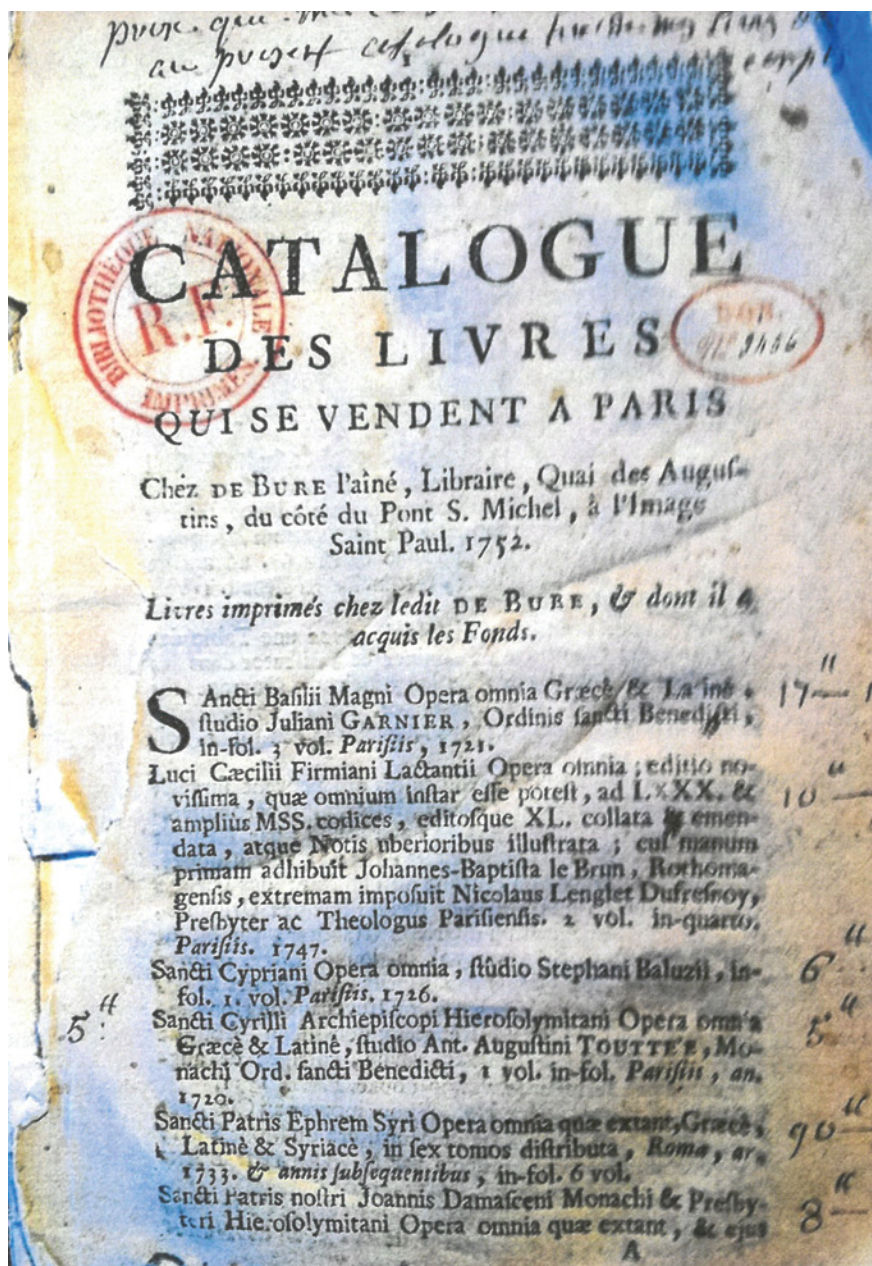


FIGURE 26.2A Catalogues of Guillaume de Bure

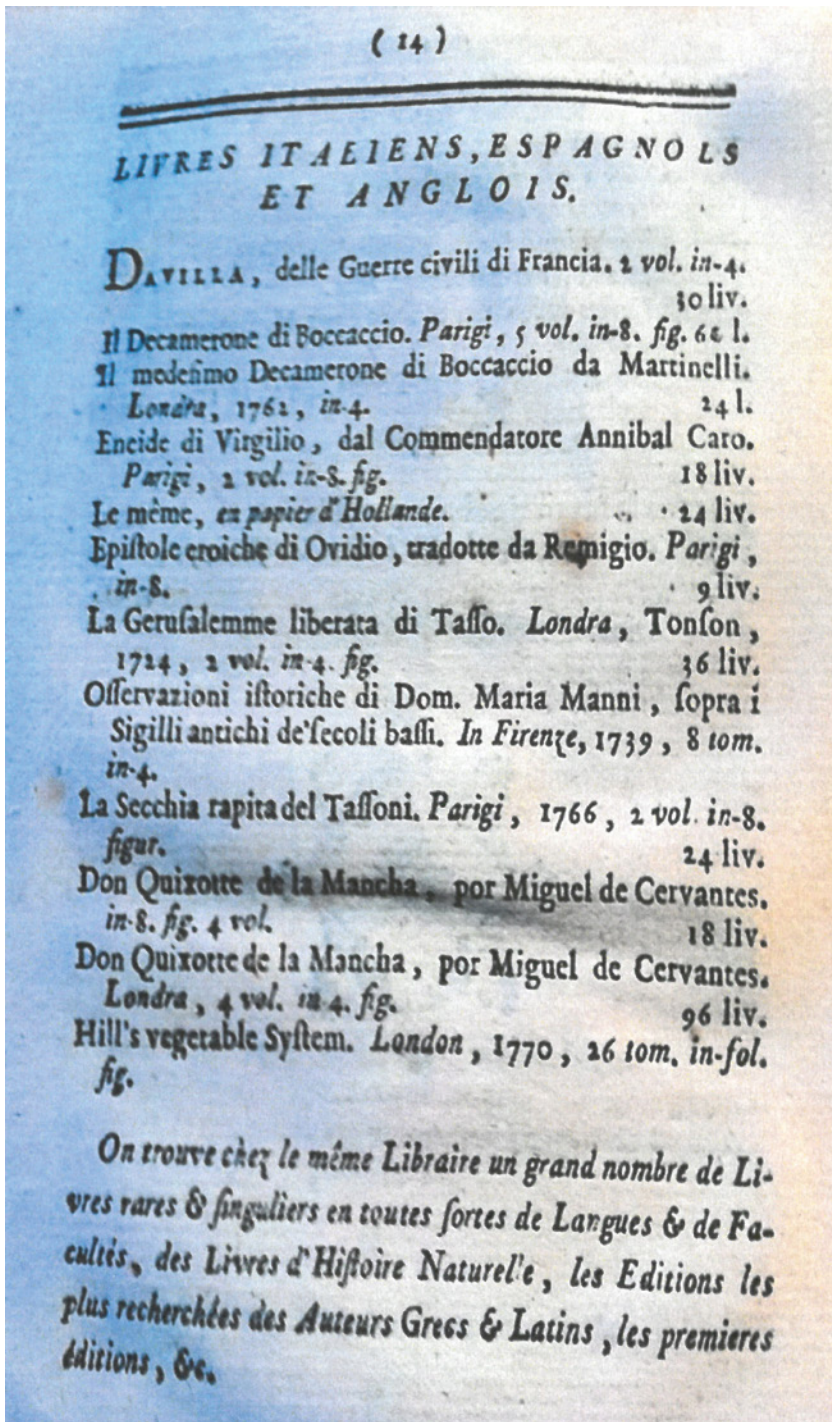


FIGURE 26.2B Catalogues of Guillaume de Bure



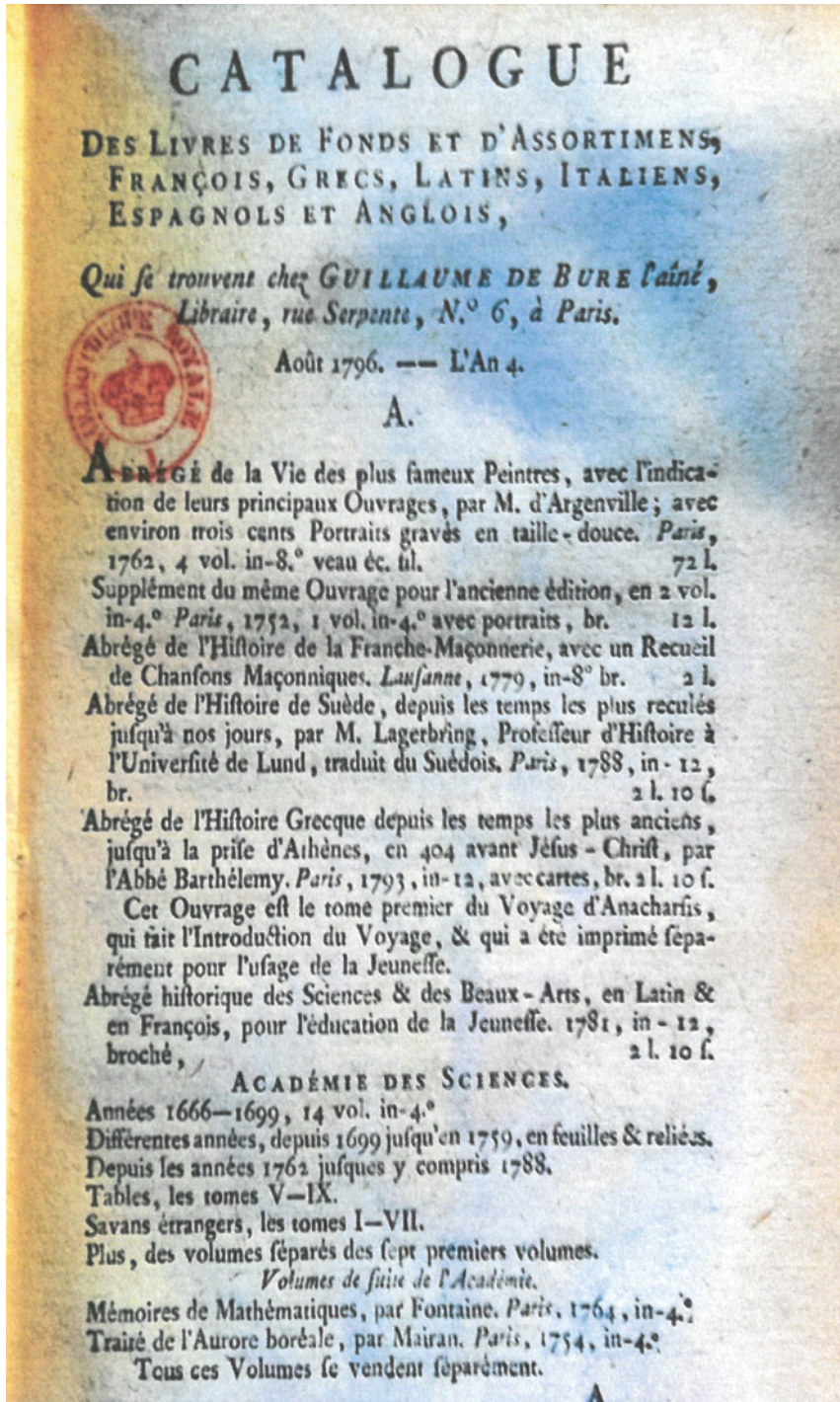


FIGURE 26.2C Catalogues of Guillaume de Bure





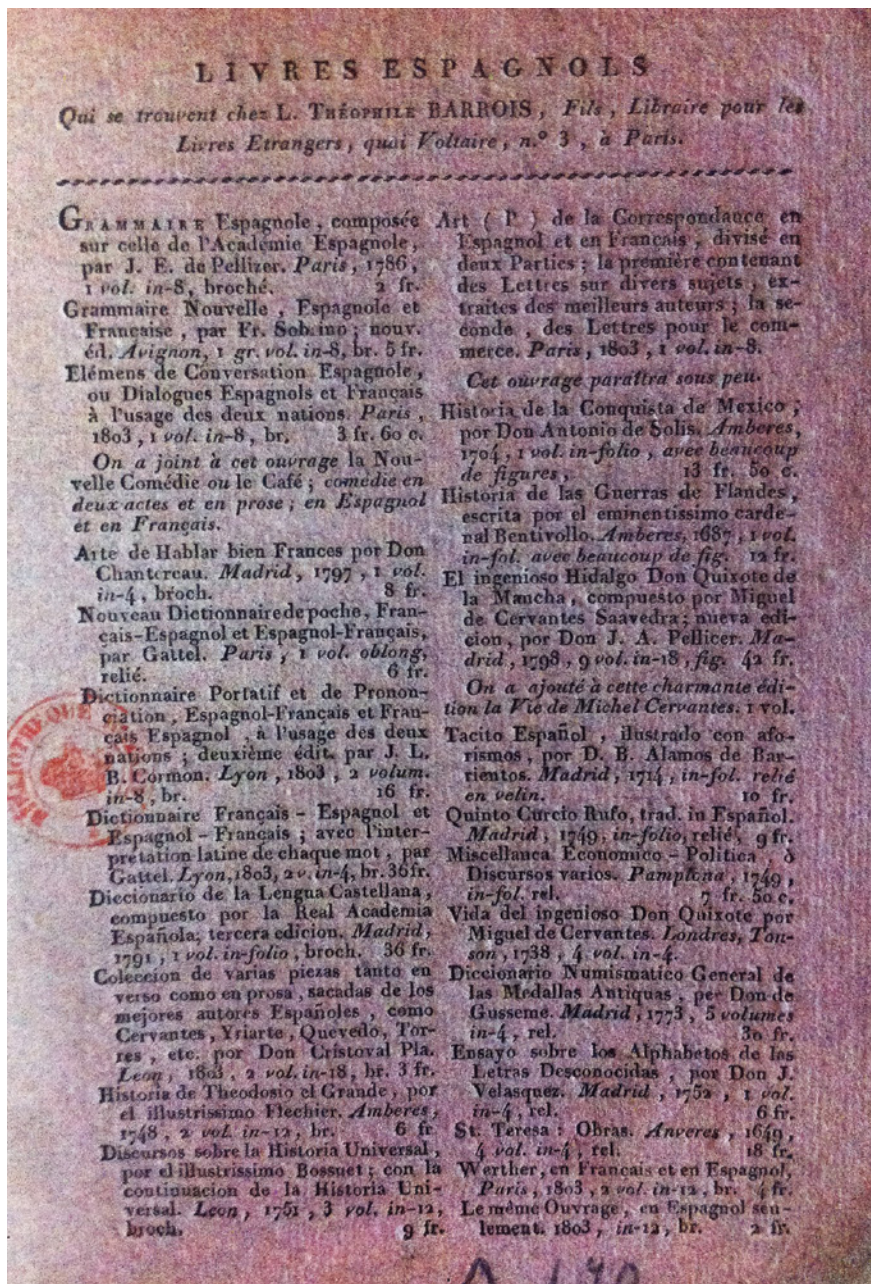


FIGURE 26.3 Catalogue of Louis Théophile Barrois



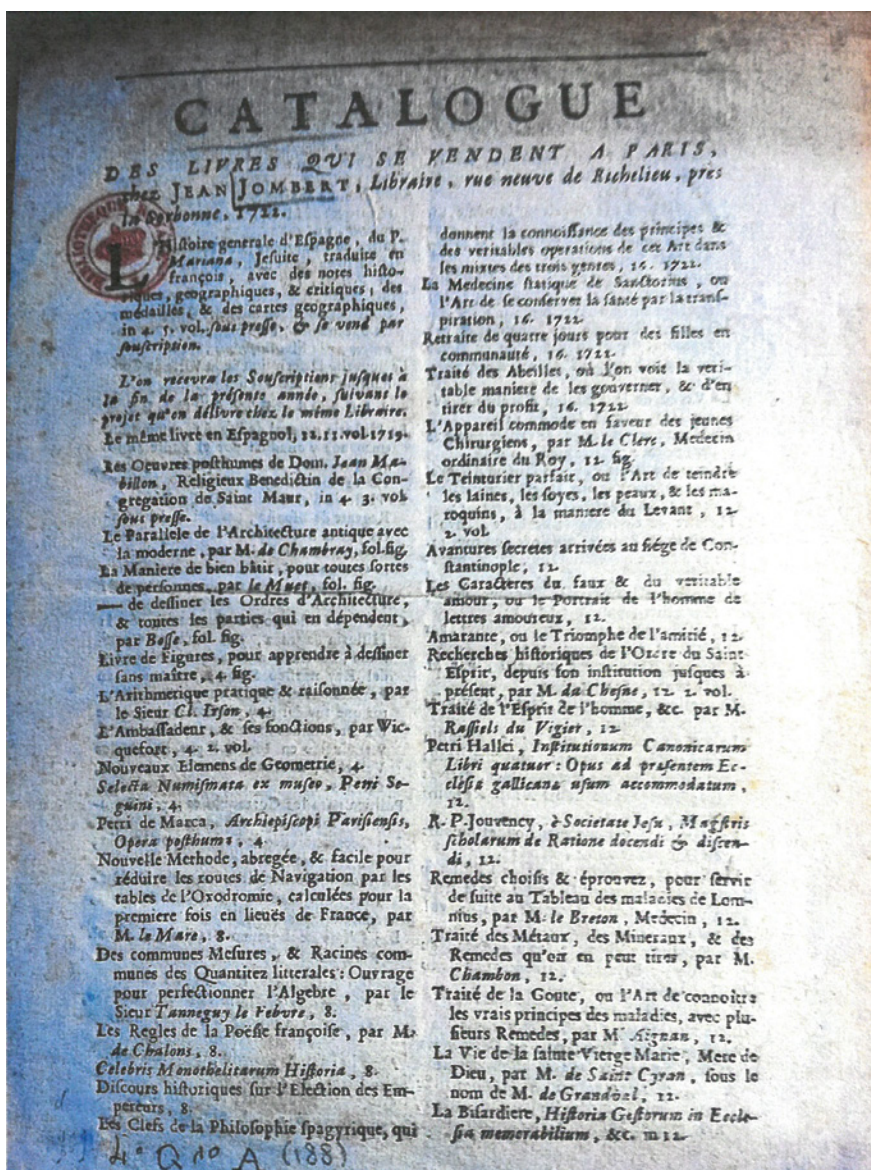


FIGURE 26.4 Catalogue of Jean H Jombert

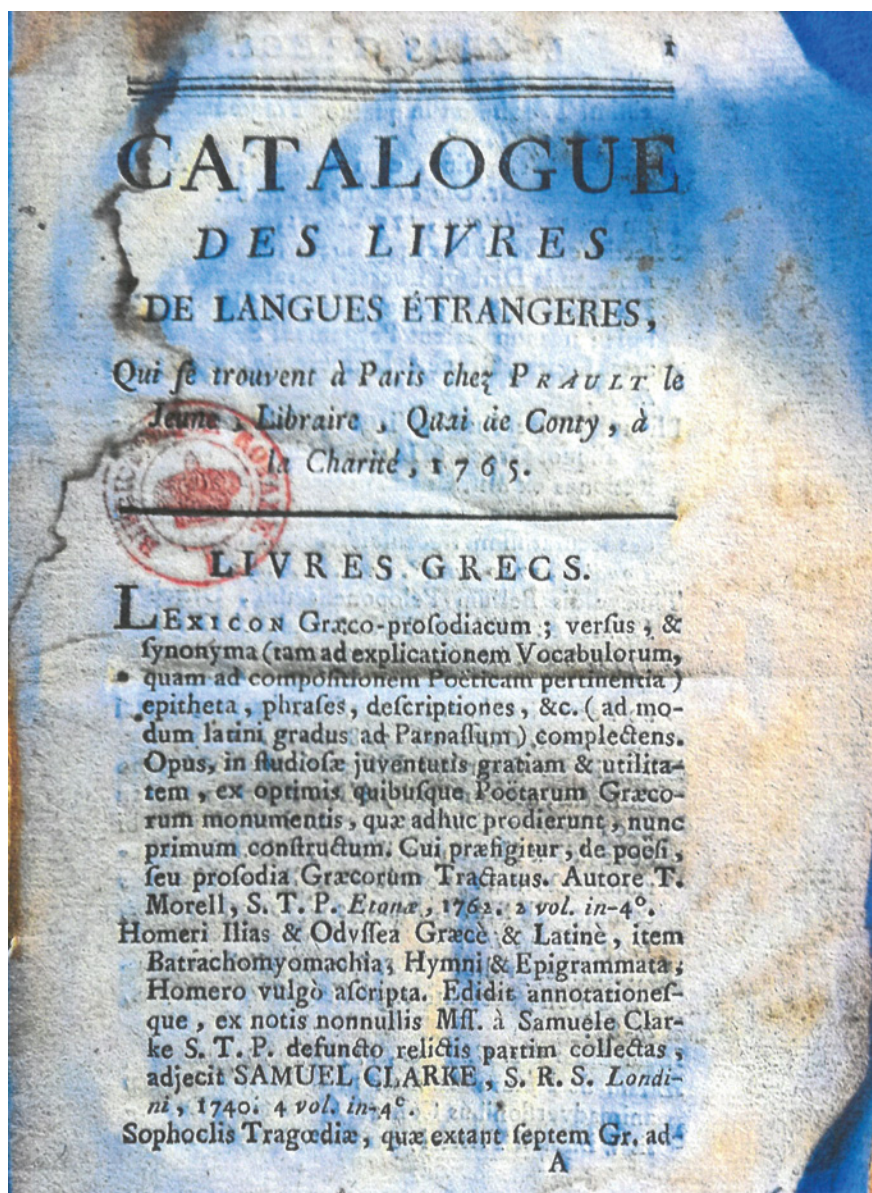


FIGURE 26.5A Catalogues of Marcel Prault of Saint-Germain



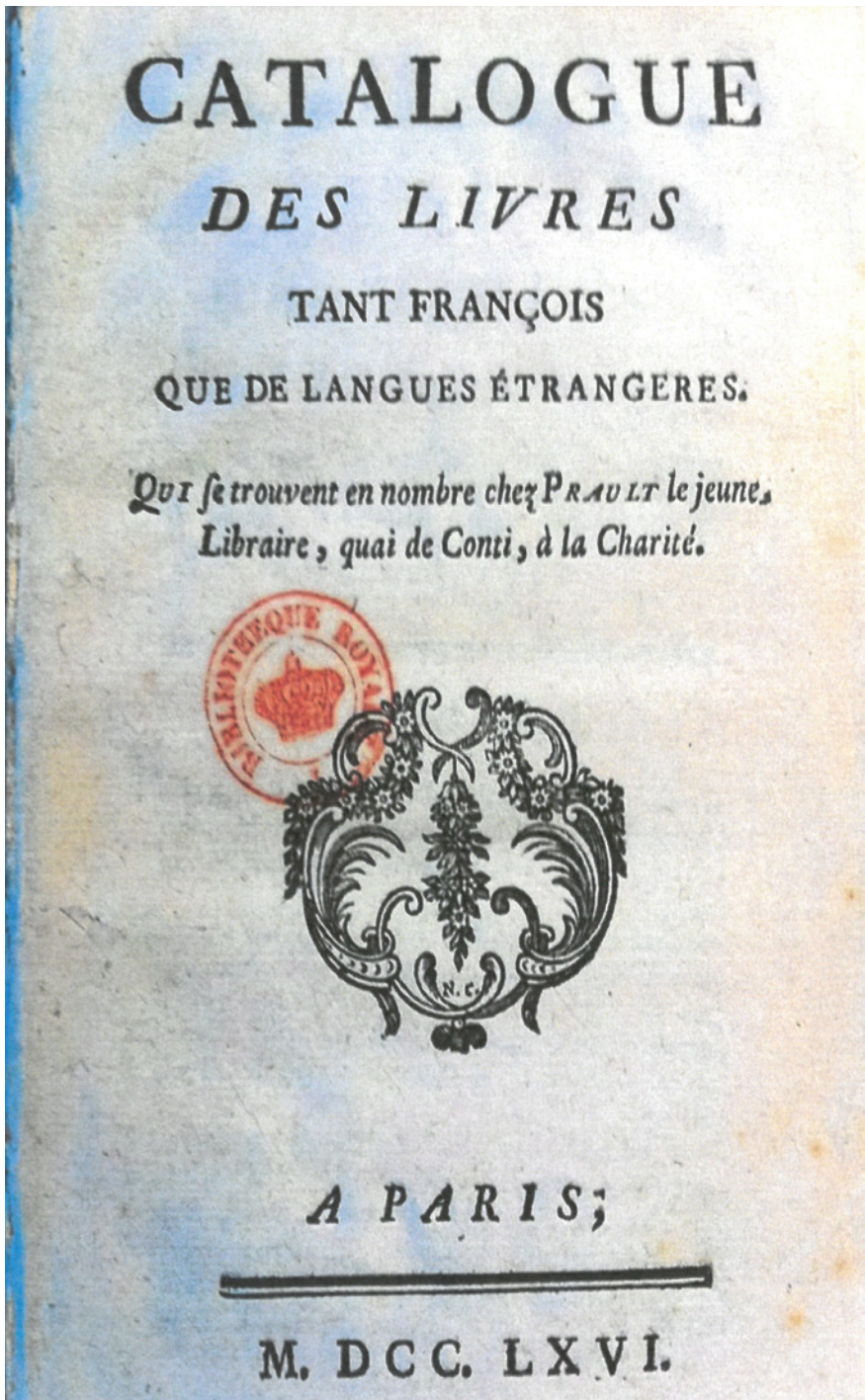


FIGURE 26.5B Catalogues of Marcel Prault of Saint-Germain

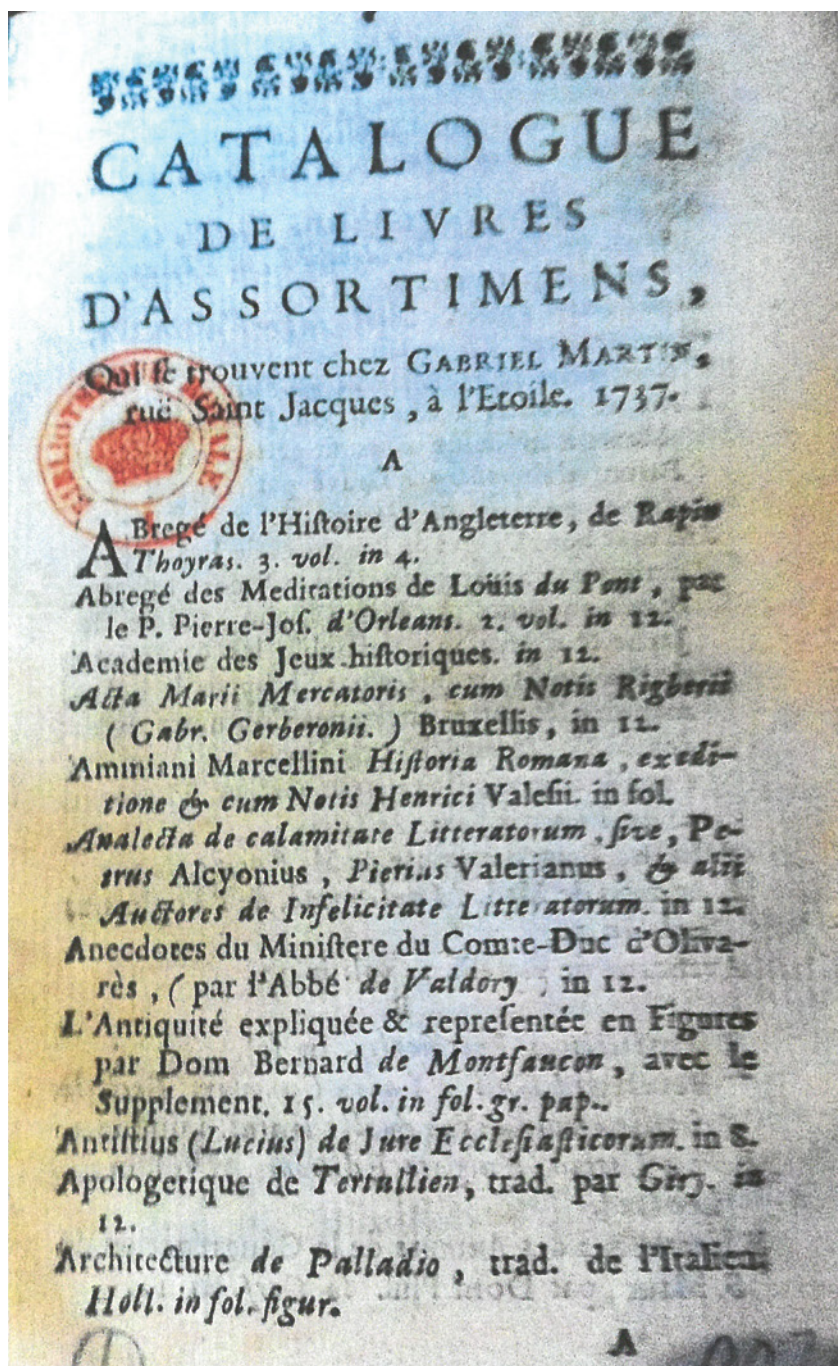


FIGURE 26.6 Catalogue of Gabriel Martin



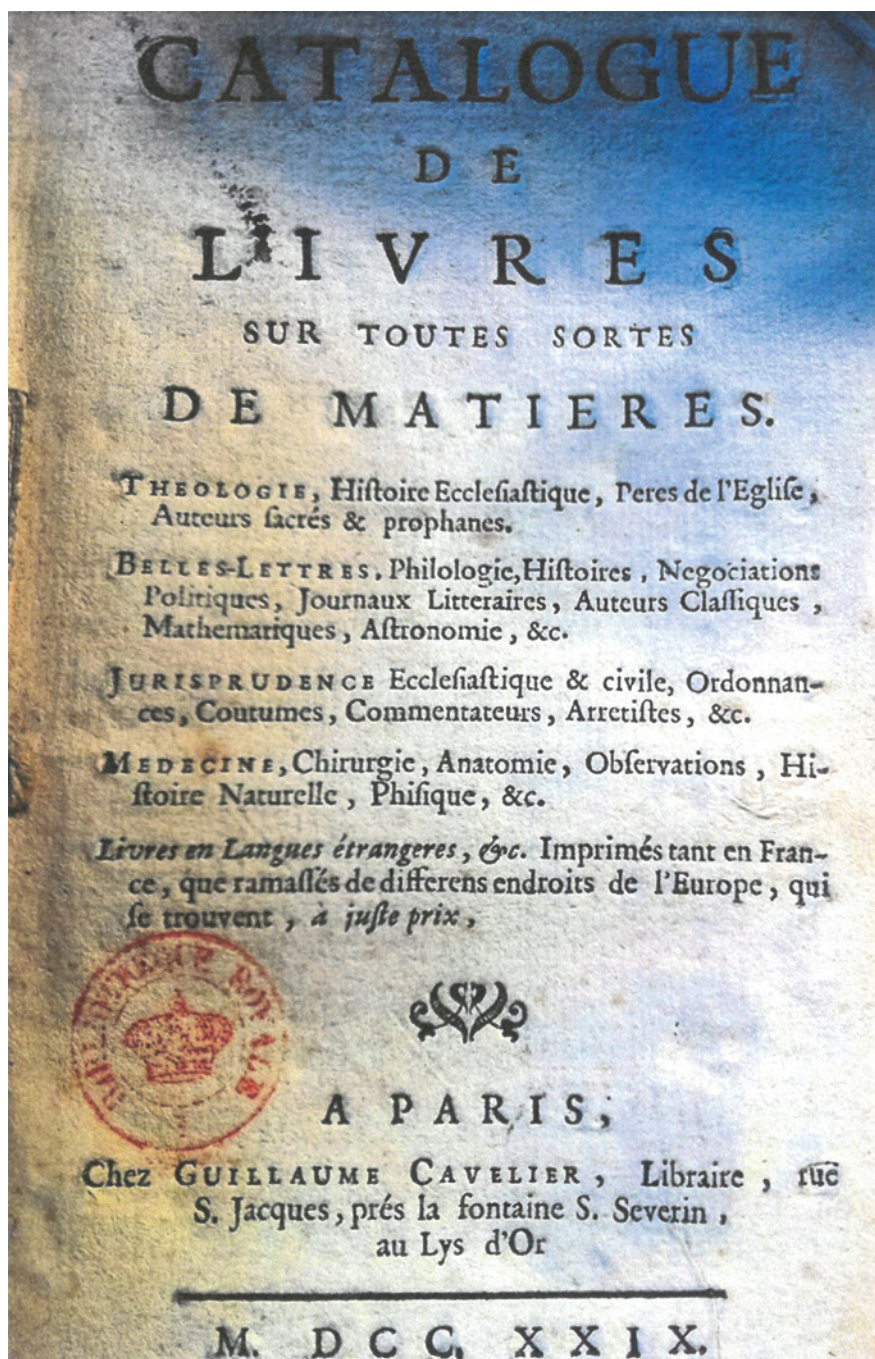
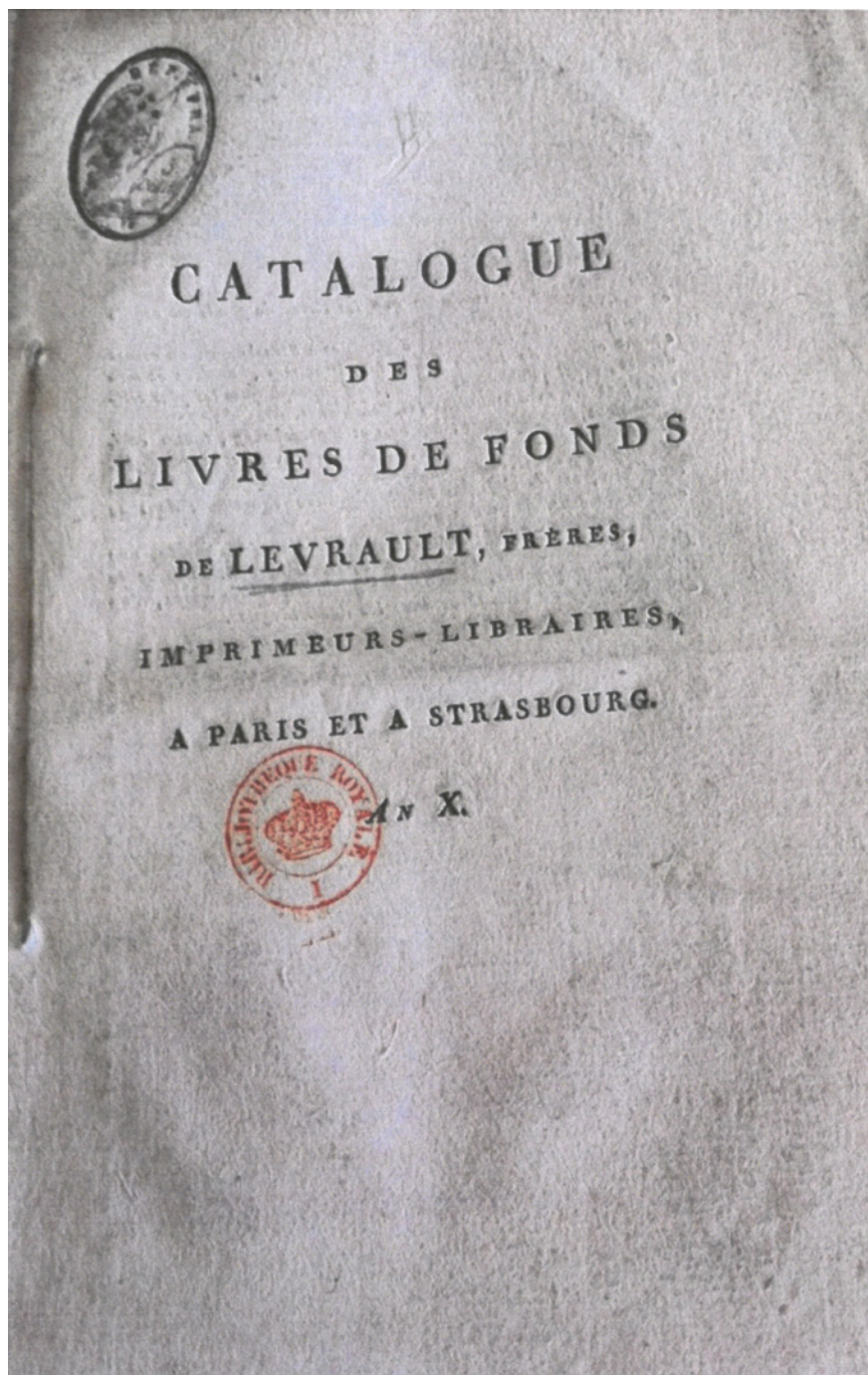


FIGURE 26.7 Catalogue of Guillaume Cavelier

FIGURE 26.8 *Catalogue of the Levrault brothers*



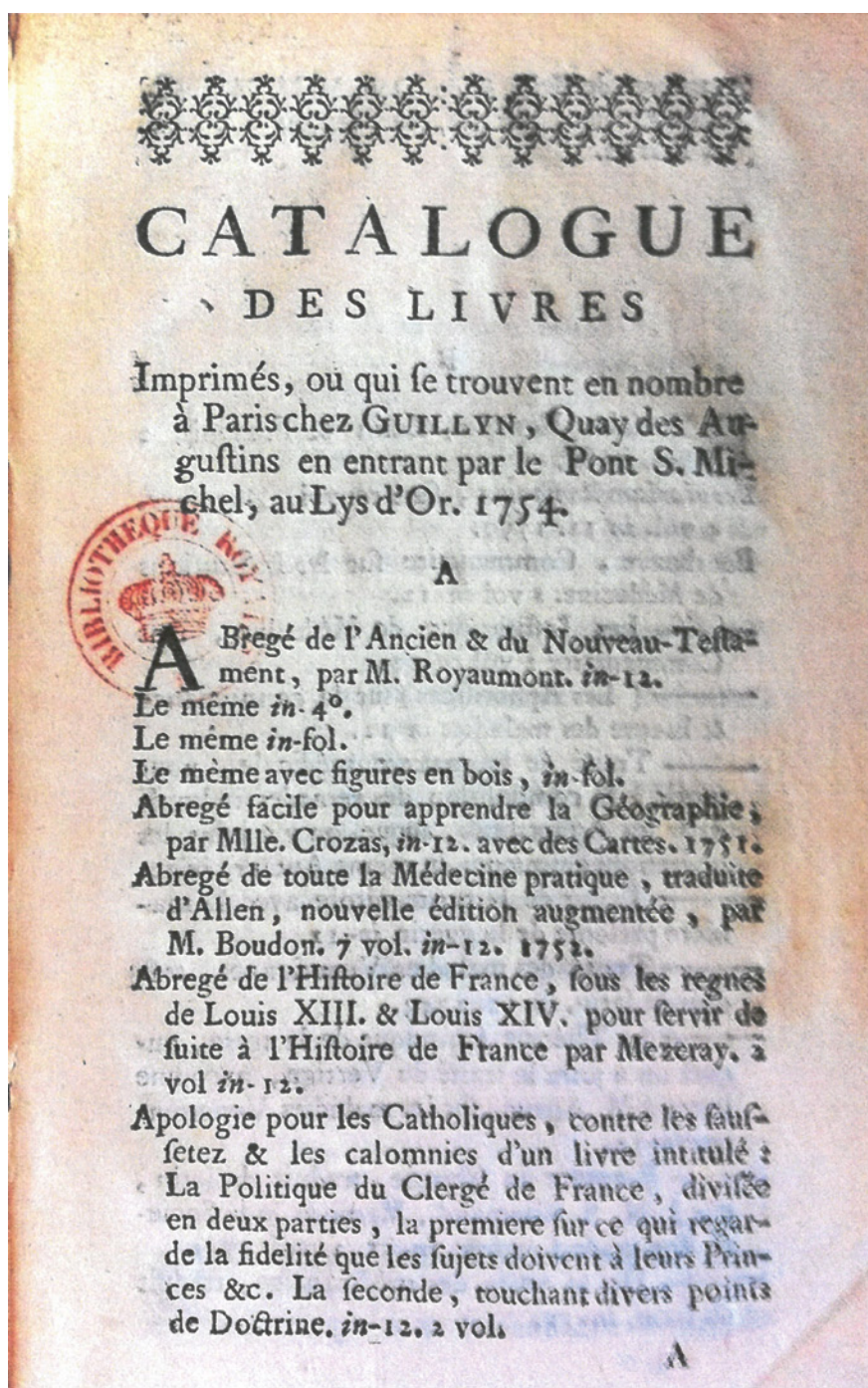


FIGURE 26.9 Catalogue of Pierre Guillyn



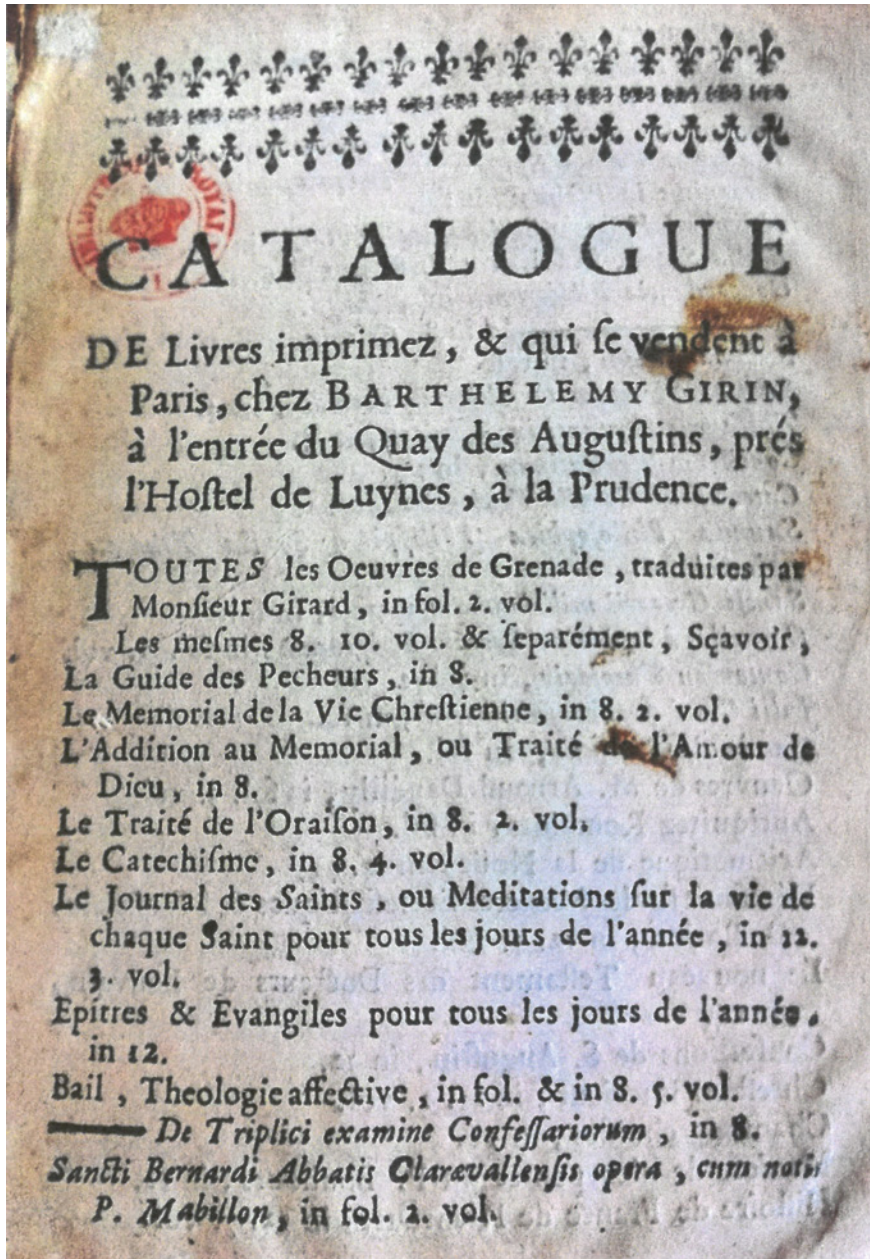


FIGURE 26.10 Catalogue of Barthélemy Girin

## London Bookshops with Stocks of Spanish Books

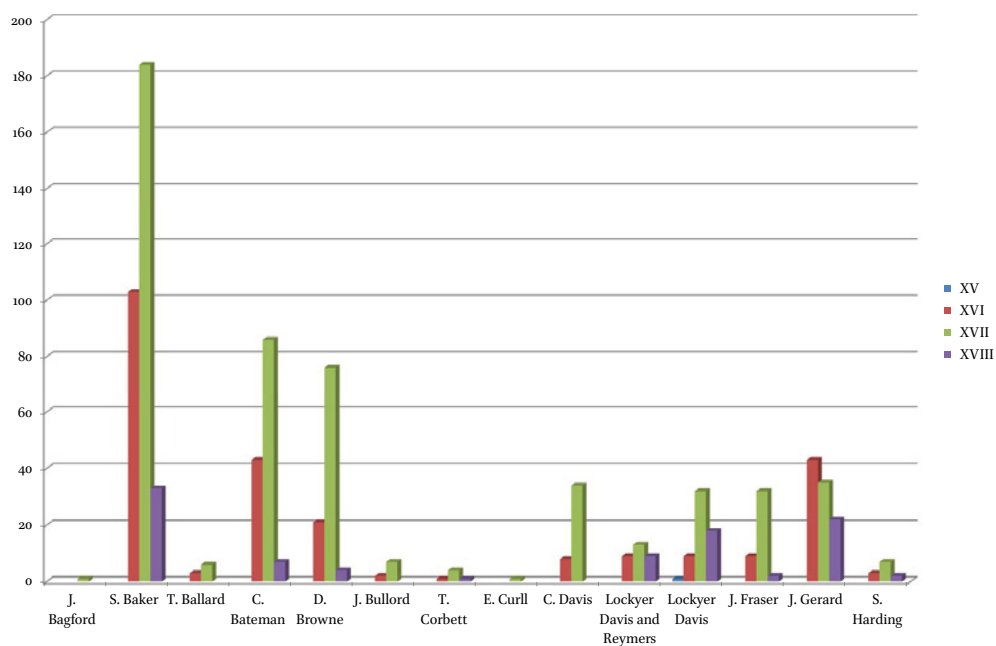


FIGURE 27.1 *London bookshops with stocks of Spanish books (fifteenth-eighteenth century)*

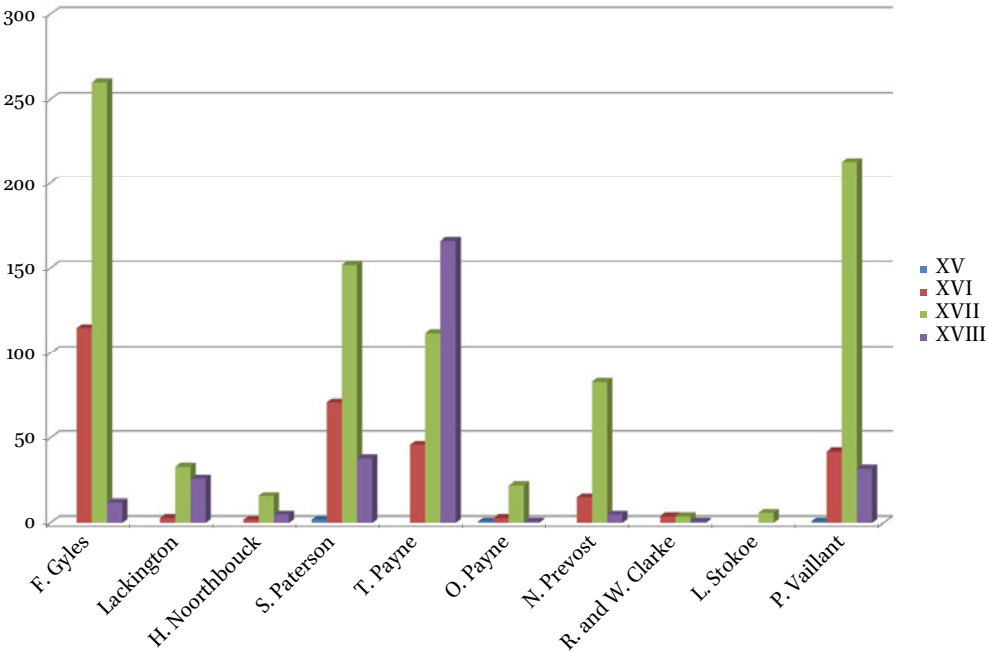


FIGURE 27.2 *London bookshops with stocks of Spanish books (fifteenth-eighteenth century)*

## Formats of Spanish Books

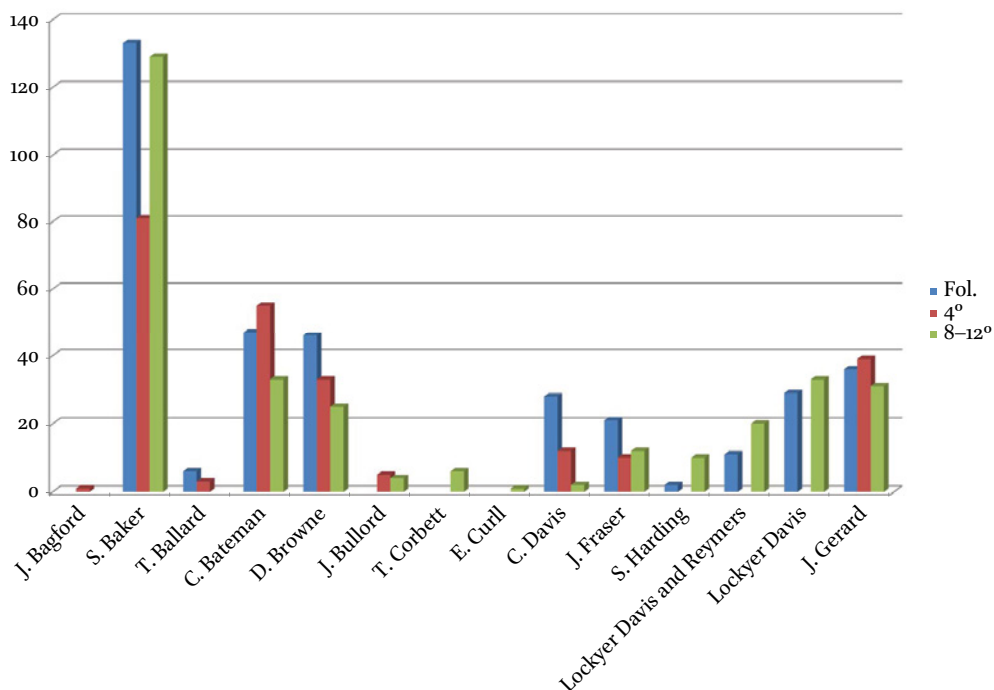


FIGURE 28.1 *The formats of Spanish books in London bookshops*

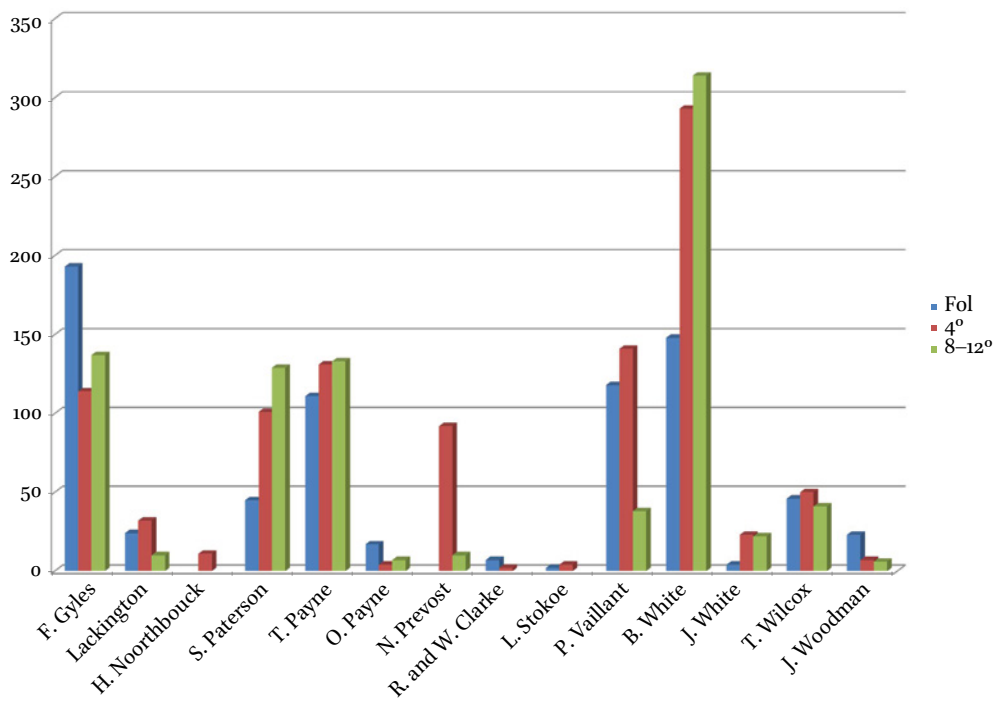


FIGURE 28.2 *The formats of Spanish books in London bookshops*

## London Booksellers Containing Spanish Books

TABLE 11 *Catalogues of London booksellers containing Spanish books*

Bookseller/Printer	Catalogue	Year
John Bagford	<i>A Catalogue of the books of Sir Charles Sidley</i>	[London, 1703]
Samuel Baker	<i>A Catalogue of a choice library of books ... containing a great variety in English, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish...</i>	[London, 1734]
Samuel Baker	<i>A Catalogue of several choice libraries of books, containing a great variety, in English, French, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, &amp;c</i>	[London, 1735]
Samuel Baker	<i>Librorum, ex bibliothecis diversis eruditiorum virorum, selecta collection, a Catalogue of the choice library of the reverend Mr. Thomas Gery</i>	[London, 1737–8]
Samuel Baker	<i>A Catalogue of above five thousand volumes, of several libraries and large parcels lately purchas'd</i>	[London, 1738]
Samuel Baker	<i>A Catalogue of several thousand volumes of books, being a collection of several libraries and parcels, lately purchased</i>	[London, 1739]
Samuel Baker	<i>A Catalogue of the entire and valuable library of Martin Folkes</i>	[London, 1756]
Samuel Baker	<i>Bibliotheca Dormeriana, sive Catalogus librorum, instructissimae Bibliothecae viri summi Jacobi Dormer</i>	[London, 1764]
Samuel Baker	<i>A Catalogue of the genuine and elegant library of John Baber</i>	[London, 1766]
Samuel Baker	<i>Bibliotheca Askeviana, sive Catalogus librorum rarissimorum Antonii Askew, M.D.</i>	[London, 1775]
Thomas Ballard	<i>Bibliopolii Husseyani, pars prima, or, a Catalogue of ... books ... being part of the stock of Mr. Christopher Hussey, bookseller</i>	[London, 1707]
Thomas Ballard	<i>Bibliotheca Bernardiana, or, a Catalogue of the library of the late Charles Bernard</i>	[London, 1711]

Bookseller/Printer	Catalogue	Year
Thomas Ballard	<i>Collectio itineraria, or a Catalogue of valuable books, ancient and modern, in sundry faculties and languages; chiefly collected out of private libraries both in Scotland and England</i>	[London, 1725]
Christopher Bateman	<i>A Catalogue of the library, antiquities, &amp;c. of the late learned Dr. Woodward</i>	[London, 1728]
Christopher Bateman	<i>A Catalogue of the scarce and valuable books, being the entire stock of Mr. J. Woodman</i>	[London, 1730]
Christopher Bateman	<i>A Catalogue of scarce and valuable books, being the entire stock in trade of Mr. Harmen Noorthouck</i>	[London, 1730]
Christopher Bateman	<i>Catalogus librorum, in omnibus fere linguis &amp; facultatibus, praesertim medicinali, or, a Catalogue of curious and uncommon books in several faculties and languages, especially physic</i>	[London, 1730]
Daniel Browne	<i>A catalogue of part of the library of that learned and reverend divine Dr. Woodroffe</i>	[London, 1718]
Daniel Browne	<i>Bibliotheca Dickensianiana, or, a Catalogue of the library of the late learned William Dickenson</i>	[London, 1719]
Daniel Browne	<i>Bibliothecae selectae, or, a collection of the libraries of several eminent persons</i>	[London, 1719]
Daniel Browne	<i>A Catalogue of the libraries of the honourable William Carr ... and of the reverend Mr. John Herbert</i>	[London, 1721]
Daniel Browne	<i>A catalogue of the libraries of a learned divine and schoolmaster, and of a physician, lately deceased</i>	[London, 1725]
Daniel Browne	<i>Librorum in omni scientia &amp; facultate insignium Catalogus. A Catalogue of very scarce and valuable books, in most faculties, sciences, and languages</i>	[London, 1725]
John Bullord	<i>The Library of a reverend divine lately deceased; containing several of the best ... in the Greek, Latin, Spanish...</i>	[London, 1700]

TABLE 11 *Catalogues of London booksellers containing Spanish books (cont.)*

Bookseller/Printer	Catalogue	Year
John Bullord	<i>The Library of a person of quality lately deceased: being a extraordinary collection ... in the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish...</i>	[London, 1701]
Thomas Corbett	<i>Bibliotheca rarissima, a Catalogue of curious and uncommon books</i>	[London, 1720]
Edmund Curll	<i>A young student's Library, or, a Catalogue of books belonging to the late Mr. Lusher</i>	[London, 1729]
Charles Davis	<i>Catalogus librorum ex bibliothecis virorum reverend. eruditissimique Jo. Lowthorp, M.A. &amp; F.R.S. et honoratissimi Tho. Carew Armigeri</i>	[London, 1728]
L. Davis and C. Reymers	<i>A Catalogue of the libraries of the rev. Zachary Grey ... Malachy Postlethwayte ... Thomas Cranmer ... and several other persons deceased</i>	[London, 1768]
Lockyer Davis	<i>L. Davis's Catalogue of a very large and valuable collection of books. In the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and English languages</i>	[London, 1790]
Mr. (John) Gerard	<i>A Catalogue of the valuable cabinet of Greek, Roman, and Spanish ... of the late Francis Carter</i>	[London, 1784]
Fletcher Gyles	<i>Catalogus librorum in omni fere scientia &amp; facultate praestantium; ex bibliothecis Caroli Killigrew et Bartholomae Beale Armig.</i>	[London, 1725]
Fletcher Gyles	<i>A Catalogue of the libraries of the Rev. Mr. Batty</i>	[London, 1738]
Fletcher Gyles	<i>A Catalogue of the entire library of Dr. Thomas Goodman</i>	[London, 1739]
Fletcher Gyles	<i>A Catalogue of the libraries of the reverend Mr. Sampson Estwick ... and of Thomas West</i>	[London, 1739]
Samuel Harding	<i>Catalogus librorum, tam antiquorum, quam recentium in omni arte &amp; facultate praestantissimorum. Being the library of an eminent minister of state, English</i>	[London, 1723]
Lackington, Allen, & Co	<i>Lackington, Allen, &amp; Co's. catalogue, volume the first, Michaelmas, 1796, to September, 1797, consisting of above 200,000 volumes</i>	[London, 1796]



Bookseller/Printer	Catalogue	Year
Harmen Noorthouck	<i>A Catalogue of uncommon and valuable books, consisting of almost every thing that is curious in divinity, philosophy, physick, mathematicks, &amp;c.</i>	[London, 1730]
Harmen Noorthouck	<i>A Catalogue of very curious and valuable books, consisting of several hundreds of volumes, in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and English</i>	[London, 1733]
Samuel Paterson	<i>Bibliotheca Croftsiana. A Catalogue of the curious and distinguished library of ... Thomas Crofts</i>	[London, 1783]
Thomas Payne	[A] <i>Catalogue of a very neat and valuable collection of books, in Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian and English</i>	[London, 1748]
Thomas Payne	<i>A Catalogue of a curious collection of books, containing ten thousand volumes, in all branches of learning, of the best authors</i>	[London, 1749]
Thomas Payne and son	<i>A Catalogue of near fifty thousand volumes of curious books, in wick are included the libraries of the late Edward Chamberlayne ... and of the rev. Mr. Wibbersly</i>	[London, 1783]
Olive Payne	<i>A Catalogue of several thousand volumes, wherein are many useful and curious books in all parts of learning, in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and English</i>	[London, 1736]
Nicholas Prevost	<i>Catalogo de libri Italiani e Spagnuoli ... or, a Catalogue of Italian and Spanish books</i>	London, 1730
J. Robson and W. Clarke	<i>A Catalogue of five entire, curious, and valuable libraries</i>	[London, 1787]
Luke Stokoe	<i>Bibliotheca curiosa, or, a Catalogue of choice and valuable books, amongst which are a curious, scarce, and entire collection of mathematical and civil-law</i>	[London, 1725]
Paul Vaillant	<i>Catalogus librorum apud Paulum Vaillant, bibliopolam, Londini venales prostantium: or, A catalogue of books in most languages and faculties, sold by Paul Vaillant, book-seller, in the Strand</i>	[London, 1745]

TABLE 11 *Catalogues of London booksellers containing Spanish books (cont.)*

Bookseller/Printer	Catalogue	Year
Paul Vaillant	<i>Catalogus librorum apud Paulum Vaillant, bibliopolam, Londini venales prostantium: or, A catalogue of books in most languages and faculties, sold by Paul Vaillant, book-seller, in the Strand</i>	[London, 1762]
Benjamin White	<i>A Catalogue of a large, valuable, and curious collection of books, in all languages, and in every branch of literature</i>	[London, 1768]
Benjamin White	<i>A Catalogue of several valuable collection of books ... including the entire library of Dr. John Green ... and the Rev. Mr. Allison</i>	[London, 1778]
Benjamin White and son	<i>A Catalogue of a valuable and extensive collection of books ... including the entire libraries of Francis William Skipwith</i>	[London, 1785]
Benjamin White and son	<i>A Catalogue of the library of the rev. John Bowle, M.A.F.S.A. Late of Idmiston, near Salisbury, and editor of Don Quixote in Spanish, with notes and various readings</i>	[London, 1790]
Joseph White	<i>A Catalogue of a neat collection of books, in Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian and Spanish</i>	[London, 1768]
Joseph White	<i>A Catalogue of a valuable collection of books; containing many thousand volumes, in Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian and Spanish</i>	[London, 1773]
Thomas Wilcox	<i>Bibliotheca Clarendoniana: A Catalogue of the valuable and curious library of the right honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon</i>	[London, 1756]
Thomas Wilcox	<i>A Catalogue of scarce and valuable books ... to which is added, the library of the rev. Mr. Gissard</i>	[London, 1760]
James Woodman	<i>Bibliotheca antiquaria &amp; política, being a Catalogue of the library of a very great statesman deceased</i>	[London, 1723]

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- BLARS. L 30/14/408/85. Waddilove, Madrid to Grantham. 13 September 1777.
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### *London, British Library*

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- CHA. *A Catalogue of the genuine and neat household furniture... also a well-chosen library of books... the whole being late the property of Samuel More* [London, 1770].
- CHA. *A Catalogue of the library of books, of Mr. Edward Chapman Bird* [London, 1771].

- CHA. *A Catalogue of the genuine and valuable library of books... of Samuel Dyer* [London, 1773].
- CHA. *A Catalogue of books belonging to the Hon. Richard Bateman, containing of a well chosen and select Library* [London, 1774].
- CHA. *A Catalogue of the valuable and modern collection of books... late in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Harris* [London, 1774].
- CHA. *A Catalogue of the valuable libraries of the Hon. Felton Hervey...* [London, 1775].
- CHA. *A Catalogue of the elegant and well chosen library of Humphrey Hanmer* [London, 1775].
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- CHA. *A Catalogue of the well chosen and valuable library of books, and books of print of a gentleman gone abroad* [London, 1776].
- CHA. *A Catalogue of the neat household furniture... of a gentleman gone abroad, also his well-chosen library of books* [London, 1777].
- CHA. *Bibliotheca Colebrookiana. A Catalogue of the large, valuable, and very elegant library of books, and books of prints, of Sir George Colebrooke* [London, 1776]. A folio edition of *Mariana Hispaniae* was sold, and the above-mentioned catalogue of Bagnall Clarke included a 1605 edition of *Mariana* published in Mainz.
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*A Catalogue of books imported during the last four years, by T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, booksellers in the Strand* (London, 1764).

*A Catalogue of the valuable library of the Rev. Egerton Leigh* ([London, 1782]).

*A Catalogue of the entire and valuable library of Martin Folkes, Esq... which will be sold by auction by Samuel Baker* ([London, 1756]).

*A Catalogue of the large and noble library of James West, esq. of King's Street, Covent Garden, deceased; late President of the Royal Society... will be sold by auction... on Wednesday the 3d and end the 13th of February 1773; and the second part will be begin on Monday the 22d of February, and end the 13th of March following* ([London, s.n., 1773]).

*A Catalogue of the books in the library of Ralph Willett* (London, 1790).

*A Catalogue of the Library of George Hibbert, Esq. of Portland Place* (London, Printed by W. Nicol, 1829).

*A Catalogue of the library of the late John Duke of Roxburghe, arranged by G. and W. Nicol* (London, Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, 1812).

*A Catalogue of the valuable library of James Edwards, Esq* ([London, 1815]).

*A Catalogue of the library of the Rev. John Bowle, M.A.F.S.A... Editor of Don Quixote in Spanish* ([London, s.n., 1790]).

*A Catalogue of large valuable, and curious collection of books, in all languages, and in every branch of literature* ([London, 1768]).

*A Catalogue of twenty thousand volumes, including the Library of the late eminent Mr. Ralph Thoresby* ([London, 1764]).

*A Catalogue of a valuable and extensive collection of books... including the entire libraries of Francis William Skipwith* ([London, 1785]).

*A Catalogue of the valuable cabinet of Greek, Roman, and Spanish, coins and medals... of the late Francis Carter* ([London, 1784]).

*A Catalogue of the genuine and entire collection of prints, copper-plates, drawings, books, &c. of the ingenious Mr. Robert Planker* ([London, 1770]).

- A Catalogue of the genuine Household furniture, an elegant mahogany book-case, and a well chosen library, neatly bound, of Roger Wilson* ([London, 1770]).
- A Catalogue of the genuine and neat household furniture... also a well-chosen library of books... the whole being late the property of Samuel More* ([London, 1770]).
- A Catalogue of the library of books, of Mr. Edward Chapman Bird* ([London, 1771]).
- A Catalogue of the genuine and valuable library of books... of Samuel Dyer* ([London, 1773]).
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